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THE

# HISTORY

OF

# England,

FROM THE

## INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO THE

## REVOLUTION IN 1688,

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BY

Vol. II

## David Hume.

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# CONTENTS

TO

# THE SECOND VOLUME.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chap. 14 | EDWARD II | Page 3 |
| 15 | EDWARD III | 47 |
| 16 | EDWARD III continued | 121 |
| 17 | RICHARD II | 173 |
| 18 | HENRY IV | 229 |
| 19 | HENRY V | 253 |
| 20 | HENRY VI | 291 |
| 21 | HENRY VI continued | 345 |
| 22 | EDWARD IV | 381 |
| 23 | EDWARD V and RICHARD III | 429 |
| 24 | HENRY VII | 471 |
| 25 | HENRY VII continued | 497 |
| 26 | HENRY VII continued | 535 |
| 27 | HENRY VIII | 573 |
| 28 | HENRY VIII continued | 611 |
| 29 | HENRY VIII continued | 639 |
| 30 | HENRY VIII continued | 685 |
| 31 | HENRY VIII continued | 733 |
| 32 | HENRY VIII continued | 795 |
| 33 | HENRY VIII continued | 833 |

# EDWARD II.

## CHAP. XIV.

WEAKNESS OF THE KING; HIS PASSION FOR FAVOURITES; PIERS GAVASTON; DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS; MURDER OF GAVASTON; WAR WITH SCOTLAND; BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN; HUGH LE DESPENSER; CIVIL COMMOTIONS; EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER; CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING; INSURRECTION; THE KING DETHRONED; MURDERED; HIS CHARACTER; MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## EDWARD II.

1307....1327.

WEAKNESS OF THE KING....HIS PASSION FOR PIERS GAVASTON.... DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS....MURDER OF GAVASTON....WAR WITH SCOTLAND....BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN....HUGH LE DESPENSER....CIVIL COMMOTIONS....EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER....CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING....THE KING DETHRONED AND MURDERED....HIS CHARACTER....MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS IN THIS REIGN.

### WEAKNESS OF THE KING.

THE prepoſſeſſions, entertained in favour of young Edward, kept the Engliſh from being fully ſenſible of the extreme loſs which they had ſuſtained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne; and all men haſtened with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his ſon and ſucceſſor. This prince

was in the twenty-third year of his age, was of an agreeable figure, of a mild and gentle diſpoſition; and, having never diſcovered a propenſity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognoſticate tranquillity and happineſs from his government. But the firſt act of his reign blaſted all theſe hopes, and ſhewed him to be totally unqualified for that perilous ſituation, in which every Engliſh monarch, during thoſe ages, had, from the unſtable form of the conſtitution, and the turbulent diſpoſitions of the people derived from it, the misfortune to be placed. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been diſperſed, and he himſelf had been obliged to take ſhelter in the weſtern iſles, remained not long unactive: but before the death of the late king had ſallied from his retreat; had again collected his followers; had appeared in the field; and had obtained by ſurpriſe an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the Engliſh forces.[a] He was now become ſo conſiderable as to have afforded the king of England ſufficient glory in ſubduing him, without incurring any danger of ſeeing all thoſe mighty preparations made by his father fail in the enterpriſe. But Edward, inſtead of purſuing his advantages, marched but a little way into Scotland; and, having an utter incapacity and equal averſion for all application or ſerious buſineſs, he immediately returned upon his footſteps, and diſbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct that the authority of the crown, fallen into ſuch feeble hands, was no longer to be dreaded, and that every inſolence might be practiſed by them with impunity.

## HIS PASSION FOR PIERS GAVASTON.

THE next meaſure taken by Edward gave them an inclination to attack thoſe prerogatives which no longer kept them in awe.

There was one Piers Gavaſton, ſon of a Gaſcon knight of ſome diſtinction, who had honourably ſerved the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an eſtabliſhment for his ſon in the family of the prince of Wales. This young man ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the affections of his maſter, by his agreeable behaviour, and by ſupplying him with all thoſe innocent though frivolous amuſements which ſuited his capacity and his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmoſt elegance of ſhape and perſon; was noted for a fine mien and eaſy carriage; diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all warlike and genteel exerciſes; and was celebrated for thoſe quick ſallies of wit in which his countrymen uſually excel. By all theſe accompliſhments he gained ſo entire an aſcendant over young Edward, whoſe heart was ſtrongly diſpoſed to friendſhip and confidence, that the late king, apprehenſive of the conſequences, had baniſhed him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his ſon promiſe never to recall him. But no ſooner did he find himſelf maſter, as he vainly imagined, than he ſent for Gavaſton; and even before his arrival at court endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had eſcheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, ſon of Richard king of the Romans.[b] Not content with conferring on him thoſe poſſeſſions, which had ſufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, he daily loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, ſiſter of the earl of Gloceſter; and ſeemed to enjoy no pleaſure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt to the higheſt ſplendour this object of his fond affections.

## DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS.

The haughty barons, offended at the ſuperiority of a minion, whoſe birth, though reputable, they deſpiſed, as much inferior

to their own, concealed not their diſcontent; and ſoon found reaſons to juſtify their animoſity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Inſtead of diſarming envy by the moderation and modeſty of his behaviour, Gavaſton diſplayed his power and influence with the utmoſt oſtentation; and deemed no circumſtance of his good fortune ſo agreeable as its enabling him to eclipſe and mortify all his rivals. He was vain-glorious, profuſe, rapacious; fond of external pomp and appearance; giddy with proſperity; and, as he imagined that his fortune was now as ſtrongly rooted in the kingdom as his aſcendant was uncontrolled over the weak monarch, he was negligent in engaging partiſans, who might ſupport his ſudden and ill eſtabliſhed grandeur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the Engliſh nobility by his ſuperior addreſs: in every converſation he made them the object of his wit and raillery: every day his enemies multiplied upon him; and nought was wanting but a little time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and to his maſter.[c]

It behoved the king to take a journey to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella, to whom he had long been affianced, though unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage.[d] Edward left Gavaſton guardian [e] of the realm, with more ample powers than had uſually been conferred;[f] and, on his return with his young queen, renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favourite of which every one ſo loudly complained. This princeſs was of an imperious and intriguing ſpirit; and, finding that her huſband's capacity required, as his temper inclined, him to be governed, ſhe thought herſelf beſt entitled, on every account, to perform the office; and ſhe contracted a mortal hatred againſt the perſon who had diſappointed her in theſe expectations. She was well pleaſed, there-

fore, to ſee a combination of the nobility forming againſt Gaveſton; who, ſenſible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new inſults and injuries.

Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and firſt prince of the blood, was by far the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in England; and poſſeſſed in his own right, and ſoon after in that of his wife, heireſs of the family of Lincoln, no leſs than ſix earldoms, with a proportionable eſtate in land, attended with all the juriſdictions and power which commonly in that age were annexed to landed property. He was turbulent and factious in his diſpoſition; mortally hated the favourite whoſe influence over the king exceeded his own; and he ſoon became the head of that party among the barons who deſired the depreſſion of this inſolent ſtranger. The confederated nobles bound themſelves by oath to expel Gaveſton; both ſides began already to put themſelves in a warlike poſture; the licentiouſneſs of the age broke out in robberies and other diſorders, the uſual prelude of civil war; and the royal authority, deſpiſed in the king's own hands, and hated in thoſe of Gaveſton, became inſufficient for the execution of the laws and the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A parliament being ſummoned at Weſtminſter, Lancaſter and his party came thither with an armed retinue, and were there enabled to impoſe their own terms on the ſovereign. They required the baniſhment of Gaveſton; impoſed an oath on him never to return; and engaged the biſhops, who never failed to interpoſe in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer [g] in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to ſubmit; [h] but even in his compliance gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favourite. Inſtead of removing all umbrage by ſending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, [i] attended him to Briſtol on his journey thither, and before his de-

parture conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gaſcony and England.[k] Gavaſton, who did not want bravery, and poſſeſſed talents for war,[l] acted during his government with vigour againſt ſome Iriſh rebels, whom he ſubdued.

Meanwhile the king, leſs ſhocked with the illegal violence which had been impoſed upon him than unhappy in the abſence of his minion, employed every expedient to ſoften the oppoſition of the barons to his return; as if ſucceſs in that point were the chief object of his government. The high office of hereditary ſteward was conferred on Lancaſter; his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other conceſſions; earl Warrenne was alſo mollified by civilities, grants, or promiſes; the inſolence of Gavaſton, being no longer before men's eyes, was leſs the object of general indignation; and Edward, deeming matters ſufficiently prepared for his purpoſe, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gavaſton a diſpenſation from that oath which the barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm.[m] He went down to Cheſter to receive him on his firſt landing from Ireland; flew into his arms with tranſports of joy; and, having obtained the formal conſent of the barons in parliament to his re-eſtabliſhment, ſet no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondneſs and affection. Gavaſton himſelf, forgetting his paſt misfortunes, and blind to their cauſes, reſumed the ſame oſtentation and inſolence; and became more than ever the object of general deteſtation among the nobility.

The barons firſt diſcovered their animoſity by abſenting themſelves from parliament; and, finding that this expedient had not been ſucceſsful, they began to think of employing ſharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had ſcarcely been any national ground of complaint, except ſome diſſipation of the public treaſure; though all the acts of mal-adminiſtration, ob-

jected to the king and his favourite, ſeemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a ball or aſſembly than commotions in a great kingdom; yet ſuch was the ſituation of the times that the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reaſons of a total alteration in the conſtitution and civil government. Having come to parliament, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themſelves entirely maſters; and they preſented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a choſen junto the whole authority, both of the crown and of the parliament. The king was obliged to ſign a commiſſion, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve perſons, who ſhould, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom and regulation of the king's houſehold; conſenting that theſe ordinances ſhould thenceforth and for ever have the force of laws; allowing the ordainers to form aſſociations among themſelves and their friends for their ſtrict and regular obſervance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the ſecurity of the church, and the honour and advantage of the king and kingdom." The barons in return ſigned a declaration, in which they acknowledged that they owed theſe conceſſions merely to the king's free grace; promiſed that this commiſſion ſhould never be drawn into precedent; and engaged that the power of the ordainers ſhould expire at the time appointed.

The choſen junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and preſented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation in the enſuing year. Some of theſe ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of juſtice: ſuch as thoſe requiring ſheriffs to be men of property; aboliſhing the practice of iſſuing privy ſeals for the ſuſpenſion of juſtice; reſtraining the

practice of purveyance; prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin; excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue; ordering all payments to be regularly made into the exchequer; revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the caſe of vexatious proſecutions. But what chiefly grieved the king was the ordinance for the removal of evil counſellors, by which a great number of perſons were by name excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gavaſton himſelf was for ever baniſhed the king's dominions, under the penalty, in caſe of diſobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Other perſons, more agreeable to the barons, were ſubſtituted in all the offices. And it was ordained that for the future all the conſiderable dignities in the houſehold, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, ſhould be appointed by the baronage in parliament; and the power of making war, or aſſembling his military tenants, ſhould no longer be inveſted ſolely in the king, nor be exerciſed without the conſent of the nobility.

Edward, from the ſame weakneſs both in his temper and ſituation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commiſſion to the barons, was led to give a parliamentary ſanction to their ordinances: but, as a conſequence of the ſame character, he ſecretly made a proteſt againſt them, and declared that, ſince the commiſſion was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and kingdom, ſuch articles as ſhould be found prejudicial to both were to be held as not ratified and confirmed.[P] It is no wonder, indeed, that he retained a firm purpoſe to revoke ordinances which had been impoſed on him by violence, which entirely annihilated the royal authority, and, above all, which deprived him of the company and ſociety of a perſon whom, by an unuſual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every conſideration of intereſt or tranquillity.

## MURDER OF GAVASTON. 1312.

As ſoon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himſelf from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gavaſton from Flanders, which that favourite had made the place of his retreat; and, declaring his baniſhment to be illegal, and contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom,[q] openly re-inſtated him in his former credit and authority. The barons, highly provoked at this diſappointment, and apprehenſive of danger to themſelves from the declared animoſity of ſo powerful a minion, ſaw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable; and they renewed, with redoubled zeal, their former confederacy againſt him. The earl of Lancaſter was a dangerous head of this alliance; Guy earl of Warwick entered into it with a furious and precipitate paſſion; Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great acceſſion of power and intereſt; even earl Warrenne deſerted the royal cauſe, which he had hitherto ſupported, and was reduced to embrace the ſide of the confederates;[r] and, as Robert de Winchelſey, archbiſhop of Canterbury, profeſſed himſelf of the ſame party, he determined the body of the clergy, and conſequently the people, to declare againſt the king and his minion. So predominant at that time was the power of the great nobility, that the combination of a few of them was always able to ſhake the throne; and ſuch an univerſal concurrence became irreſiſtible. The earl of Lancaſter ſuddenly raiſed an army, and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to Newcaſtle.[s] He flew thither in purſuit of him; and Edward had juſt time to eſcape to Tinmouth, where he embarked, and ſailed with Gavaſton to Scarborough. He left his favourite in that fortreſs, which, had it been pro-

perly ſupplied with proviſions, was deemed impregnable; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raiſing an army which might be able to ſupport him againſt his enemies. Pembroke was ſent by the confederates to beſiege the caſtle of Scarborough; and Gavaſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon, was obliged to capitulate, and to ſurrender himſelf priſoner.[t] He ſtipulated that he ſhould remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavours ſhould, during that time, be mutually uſed for a general accommodation; that, if the terms propoſed by the barons were not accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it; and that the earl of Pembroke and Henry Piercy ſhould, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of theſe conditions.[u] Pembroke, now maſter of the perſon of this public enemy, conducted him to the caſtle of Dedington, near Banbury; where, on pretence of other buſineſs, he left him, protected by a feeble guard.[x] Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the caſtle; the garriſon refuſed to make any reſiſtance; Gavaſton was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick caſtle; the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither;[y] and, without any regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favourite to be ſtruck off by the hands of the executioner.[z]

The king had retired northward to Berwick when he heard of Gavaſton's murder; and his reſentment was proportioned to the affection which he had ever born him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody ſcene, and he made preparations for war in all parts of England. But, being leſs conſtant in his enmities than in his friendſhips, he ſoon after hearkened to terms of accommodation; granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and, as

they ſtipulated to aſk him publicly pardon on their knees,[a] he was ſo pleaſed with theſe vain appearances of ſubmiſſion, that he ſeemed to have ſincerely forgiven them all paſt injuries. But, as they ſtill pretended, notwithſtanding their lawleſs conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the eſtabliſhment of their former ordinances as a neceſſary ſecurity for that purpoſe, Edward told them that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of ſuch of theſe ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This anſwer was received, for the preſent, as ſatisfactory. The king's perſon, after the death of Gavaſton, was now become leſs obnoxious to the public; and, as the ordinances inſiſted on appeared to be nearly the ſame with thoſe which had formerly been extorted from Henry III by Mountfort, and which had been attended with ſo many fatal conſequences, they were, on that account, demanded with leſs vehemence by the nobility and people. The minds of all men ſeemed to be much appeaſed; the animoſities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, now united under its head, would henceforth be able, it was hoped, to take vengeance on all its enemies, particularly on the Scots, whoſe progreſs was the object of general reſentment and indignation.

## WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

IMMEDIATELY after Edward's retreat from Scotland Robert Bruce left his faſtneſſes, in which he intended to have ſheltered his feeble army; and, ſupplying his defect of ſtrength by ſuperior vigour and abilities, he made deep impreſſion on all his enemies, foreign and domeſtic. He chaſed lord Argyle, and the chieftain of the Macdowals, from their hills, and made himſelf entirely maſter of the high country; he thence invaded, with

ſucceſs, the Cummins in the low countries of the north; he took the caſtles of Inverneſs, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained ſome new acceſſion of territory; and, what was a more important acquiſition, he daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and inliſted under his ſtandard every bold leader, whom he enriched by the ſpoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatneſs and renown of that warlike family, ſeconded him in all his enterpriſes; Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by acts of valour; and, the terror of the Engliſh power being now abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the leaſt ſanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortreſſes, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this ſituation Edward had found it neceſſary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert ſucceſsfully employed the interval in conſolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government, disjointed by a long continuance of wars and factions. The interval was very ſhort; the truce, ill obſerved on both ſides, was at laſt openly violated, and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. Robert, not content with defending himſelf, had made ſucceſsful inroads into England, ſubſiſted his needy followers by the plunder of that country, and taught them to deſpiſe the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at laſt rouſed from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to riſk too much againſt an enemy ſo much ſuperior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh; but, being deſtitute of proviſions, and being ill ſupported by the Engliſh nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was ſoon obliged to retreat, with-

out gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the appearing union of all the parties in England, after the death of Gavaſton, ſeemed to reſtore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the proſpect of reducing Scotland, and promiſed a happy concluſion to a war in which both the intereſts and paſſions of the nation were ſo deeply engaged.

Edward aſſembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finiſhing, at one blow, this important enterpriſe. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals from Gaſcony; he inliſted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries; he invited over great numbers of the diſorderly Iriſh as to a certain prey; he joined to them a body of the Welſh, who were actuated by like motives; and, aſſembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army which, according to the Scotch writers, amounted to a hundred thouſand men.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thouſand combatants; but, being compoſed of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by many acts of valour, who were rendered deſperate by their ſituation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might juſtly, under ſuch a leader, be deemed formidable to the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies. The caſtle of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortreſs in Scotland that remained in the hands of the Engliſh, had long been beſieged by Edward Bruce. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, after an obſtinate defence, was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and to promiſe that, if before a certain day, which was now approaching, he were not relieved, he ſhould open his gates to the enemy.[b] Robert, therefore, ſenſible that here was the ground on which he muſt expect the Engliſh, choſe the field of battle with all the ſkill and prudence imaginable, and made the neceſſary preparations for their reception. He poſted himſelf at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; where he had a

hill on his right flank, and a moraſs on his left. And, not content with having taken theſe precautions to prevent his being ſurrounded by the more numerous army of the Engliſh, he foreſaw the ſuperior ſtrength of the enemy in cavalry, and made proviſion againſt it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and ſharp ſtakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with turf.[c] The Engliſh arrived in ſight on the evening, and a bloody conflict immediately enſued between two bodies of cavalry; where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in ſingle combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one ſtroke cleft his adverſary to the chin with a battle-axe, in ſight of the two armies. The Engliſh horſe fled with precipitation to their main body.

## BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN. 1314.

THE Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the valour of their prince, prognoſticated a happy iſſue to the combat on the enſuing day; the Engliſh, confident in their numbers, and elated with former ſucceſſes, longed for an opportunity of revenge; and the night, though extremely ſhort in that ſeaſon and in that climate, appeared tedious to the impatience of the ſeveral combatants. Early in the morning on the twenty-fifth of June Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloceſter, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, ruſhed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy.[d] This body of horſe was diſordered; Gloceſter himſelf was overthrown and ſlain; ſir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottiſh cavalry, gave the enemy

no leiſure to rally, but puſhed them off the field with conſiderable loſs, and purſued them in ſight of their whole line of infantry. While the Engliſh army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves deciſive, they obſerved an army on the heights towards the left, which ſeemed to be marching leiſurely in order to ſurround them; and they were diſtracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggoners and ſumpter-boys, whom Robert had collected; and, having ſupplied them with military ſtandards, gave them the appearance, at a diſtance, of a formidable body. The ſtratagem took effect; a panic ſeized the Engliſh; they threw down their arms, and fled. They were purſued with great ſlaughter for the ſpace of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick: and the Scots, beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army. The king himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in Dunbar, whoſe gates were opened to him by the earl of March; and he thence paſſed by ſea to Berwick.

Such was the great and deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which ſecured the independence of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom; and may be deemed the greateſt overthrow that the Engliſh nation, ſince the conqueſt, has ever received. The number of ſlain on thoſe occaſions is always uncertain, and is commonly much magnified by the victors: but this defeat made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Engliſh; and it was remarked that, for ſome years, no ſuperiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots. Robert, in order to avail himſelf of his preſent ſucceſs, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition. He beſieged Carliſle; but that place was ſaved by the valour of ſir

Andrew Harcla, the governor. He was more ſucceſsful againſt Berwick, which he took by aſſault. And this prince, elated by his continued proſperity, now entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſts on the Engliſh. He ſent over his brother Edward, with an army of ſix thouſand men, into Ireland; and that nobleman aſſumed the title of king of that iſland: he himſelf followed ſoon after with more numerous forces. The horrible and abſurd oppreſſions, which the Iriſh ſuffered under the Engliſh government, made them at firſt fly to the ſtandard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers: but a grievous famine, which at that time deſolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottiſh army to the greateſt extremities; and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminiſhed, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and ſlain near Dundalk by the Engliſh, commanded by lord Bermingham: and theſe projects, too extenſive for the force of the Scottiſh nation, thus vaniſhed into ſmoke.

Edward, beſides ſuffering thoſe diſaſters from the invaſion of the Scots, and the inſurrection of the Iriſh, was alſo infeſted with a rebellion in Wales; and, above all, by the factions of his own nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, inſulted his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaſter, and the barons of his party, who had declined attending him on his Scottiſh expedition, no ſooner ſaw him return with diſgrace than they inſiſted on the renewal of their ordinances, which they ſtill pretended had validity; and the king's unhappy ſituation obliged him to ſubmit to their demands. The miniſtry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaſter.[f] That prince was placed at the head of the council; it was declared that all the offices ſhould be filled, from time to time, by the votes of

parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons;[x] and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to put itſelf in a better poſture of defence againſt the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terrified with the progreſs of theſe public enemies: on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the crown. Lancaſter himſelf was ſuſpected, with great appearance of reaſon, of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the king of Scots: and, though he was intruſted with the command of the Engliſh armies, he took care that every enterpriſe ſhould be diſappointed, and every plan of operations prove unſucceſsful.

All the European kingdoms, eſpecially that of England, were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime miniſter, ſo well underſtood at preſent in all regular monarchies; and the people could form no conception of a man, who, though ſtill in the rank of a ſubject, poſſeſſed all the power of a ſovereign, eaſed the prince of the burden of affairs, ſupplied his want of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greateſt nobles by their ſubmiſſion to his temporary authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold himſelf the reins of government. He had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for ſerious buſineſs; he was ſenſible of his own defects, and neceſſarily ſought to be governed: yet every favourite whom he ſucceſſively choſe was regarded as a fellow ſubject exalted above his rank and ſtation; he was the object of envy to the great nobility; his character and conduct were decried with the people; his authority over the king and kingdom was conſidered as an uſurpation; and, unleſs the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the earl of Lancaſter, or ſome mighty baron, whoſe family intereſt was ſo extenſive as to be able alone

to maintain his influence, he could expect no peace or tranquillity upon the throne.

## HUGH LE DESPENSER. 1315.

THE king's chief favourite, after the death of Gavaſton, was Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, a young man of Engliſh birth, of high rank, and of a noble family.[h] He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was deſtitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous ſtation to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the ſame name, and who, by means of his ſon, had alſo attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable from his years, reſpected through all his paſt life for wiſdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to have ſupplied the defects both of the king and of his minion.[i] But no ſooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenſer than the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons, regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animoſity,[k] and formed violent plans for his ruin. They firſt declared their diſcontent by withdrawing from parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities againſt him.

## CIVIL COMMOTIONS. 1321.

THE king, who ſet no limits to his bounty towards his minions, had married the younger Spenſer to his niece, one of the coheirs of the earl of Gloceſter, ſlain at Bannockburn. The fa-

vourite, by his ſucceſſion to that opulent family, had inherited great poſſeſſions in the marches of Wales;[1] and, being deſirous of extending ſtill farther his influence in thoſe quarters, he is accuſed of having committed injuſtice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who had alſo married two ſiſters of the ſame family. There was likewiſe a baron in that neighbourhood called William de Braouſe, lord of Gower, who had made a ſettlement of his eſtate on John de Mowbray his ſon-in-law; and, in caſe of failure of that nobleman and his iſſue, had ſubſtituted the earl of Hereford in the ſucceſſion to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the deceaſe of his father-in-law, entered immediately in poſſeſſion of the eſtate, without the formality of taking livery and ſeizin from the crown: but Spenſer, who coveted that barony, perſuaded the king to put in execution the rigour of the feudal law, to ſeize Gower as eſcheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him.[m] This tranſaction, which was the proper ſubject of a law ſuit, immediately excited a civil war in the kingdom. The earls of Lancaſter and Hereford flew to arms: Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces: the two Rogers de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, with many others, diſguſted, for private reaſons, at the Spenſers, brought a conſiderable acceſſion to the party: and, their army being now formidable, they ſent a meſſage to the king, requiring him immediately to diſmiſs or confine the younger Spenſer; and menacing him, in caſe of refuſal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that miniſter by their own authority. They ſcarcely waited for an anſwer; but immediately fell upon the lands of young Spenſer, which they pillaged and deſtroyed; murdered his ſervants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houſes.[n] They thence proceeded to commit like devaſtations on the eſtates of Spenſer the father, whoſe character they had hitherto ſeemed to reſpect. And, having drawn and ſigned a formal aſſociation

among themſelves,[o] they marched to London with all their forces, ſtationed themſelves in the neighbourhood of that city, and demanded of the king the baniſhment of both the Spenſers. Theſe noblemen were then abſent; the father abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both of them employed in different commiſſions: the king, therefore, replied that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accuſed of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of making anſwer.[p] Equity and reaſon were but a feeble oppoſition to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, ſaw no ſafety but in ſucceſs and victory. They entered London with their troops; and, giving in to the parliament, which was then ſitting, a charge againſt the Spenſers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by menaces and violence, a ſentence of attainder and perpetual exile againſt theſe miniſters.[q] This ſentence was voted by the lay barons alone: for the commons, though now an eſtate in parliament, were yet of ſo little conſideration, that their aſſent was not demanded; and even the votes of the prelates were neglected amidſt the preſent diſorders. The only ſymptom which theſe turbulent barons gave of their regard to law was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings;[r] after which they diſbanded their army, and ſeparated, in ſecurity as they imagined, to their ſeveral caſtles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquieſce, rendered his perſon and his authority ſo contemptible, that every one thought himſelf entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen, having occaſion ſoon after to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to the lord Badleſmere, deſired a night's lodging, but was refuſed admittance; and ſome of her attendants, who preſented themſelves at the gate, were

killed.[s] The inſult upon this princeſs, who had always endeavoured to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the younger Spenſer, was an action which nobody pretended to juſtify; and the king thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, aſſemble an army, and take vengeance on the offender. No one came to the aſſiſtance of Badleſmere; and Edward prevailed.[t] But, having now ſome forces on foot, and having concerted meaſures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to take off the maſk, to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spenſers; whoſe ſentence he declared illegal, unjuſt, contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter, paſſed without the aſſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him [u] and the eſtate of barons. Still the commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the ſtart of the barons; an advantage which, in thoſe times, was commonly deciſive: and he haſtened with his army to the marches of Wales, the chief ſeat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for reſiſtance. Many of the barons in thoſe parts endeavoured to appeaſe him by ſubmiſſion;[x] their caſtles were ſeized, and their perſons committed to cuſtody. But Lancaſter, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, ſummoned together his vaſſals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been ſuſpected; received the promiſe of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolf earl of Murray and ſir James Douglas;[y] and, being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces againſt the king, who had collected an army of thirty thouſand men, and was ſuperior to his enemies. Lancaſter poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the paſſages of the river;[z] but, being diſappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no military genius, and whoſe perſonal courage was even ſuf-

pected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottiſh allies.[a] He was purſued by the king; and his army diminiſhed daily, till he came to Borough-bridge, where he found ſir Andrew Harcla poſted with ſome forces on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ready to diſpute the paſſage with him. He was repulſed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels was diſconcerted; Lancaſter himſelf was become incapable of taking any meaſures either for flight or defence; and he was ſeized without reſiſtance by Harcla, and conducted to the king.[b]

## EXECUTION OF LANCASTER. 1322.

In thoſe violent times, the laws were ſo much neglected on both ſides that, even where they might without any ſenſible inconvenience have been obſerved, the conquerors deemed it unneceſſary to pay any regard to them. Lancaſter, who was guilty of open rebellion, and was taken in arms againſt his ſovereign, inſtead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the ſentence of death againſt him, was condemned by a court-martial,[c] and led to execution. Edward, however little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and employed againſt the priſoner the ſame indignities which had been exerciſed, by his orders, againſt Gavaſton. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, a hood was put on his head; and in this poſture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own caſtles, and there beheaded.[d]

Thus periſhed Thomas earl of Lancaſter, prince of the blood, and one of the moſt potent barons that had ever been in Eng-

land. His public conduct ſufficiently diſcovers the violence and turbulence of his character; his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent; and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Badleſmere, Giffard, Barret, Cheney, Fleming, and about eighteen of the moſt notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and were executed. Many were thrown into priſon: others made their eſcape beyond ſea: ſome of the king's ſervants were rewarded from their forfeitures: Harcla received for his ſervices the earldom of Carliſle, and a large eſtate; which he ſoon after forfeited, with his life, for a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland. But the greater part of thoſe vaſt eſcheats was ſeized by young Spenſer, whoſe rapacity was inſatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party were diſguſted with this partial diviſion of the ſpoils; the envy againſt Spenſer roſe higher than ever; the uſual inſolence of his temper, inflamed by ſucceſs, impelled him to commit many acts of violence; the people, who always hated him, made him ſtill more the object of averſion; all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen ſecretly vowed revenge; and, though tranquillity was, in appearance, reſtored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium againſt Spenſer, bred dangerous humours, the ſource of future revolutions and convulſions.

In this ſituation no ſucceſs could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitleſs attempt againſt Scotland, whence he retreated with diſhonour, found it neceſſary to terminate hoſtilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. Robert, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was ſatisfied with enſuring his poſſeſſion of it during ſo long a time. He had repelled with gallantry all the attacks of England; he had carried war both

into that kingdom and into Ireland; he had rejected with diſdain the pope's authority, who pretended to impoſe his commands upon him, and oblige him to make peace with his enemies; his throne was firmly eſtabliſhed, as well in the affections of his ſubjects as by force of arms; yet there naturally remained ſome inquietude in his mind, while at war with a ſtate which, however at preſent diſordered by faction, was of itſelf ſo much an overmatch for him, both in riches and in numbers of people. And this truce was at the ſame time the more ſeaſonable for England, becauſe the nation was at that juncture threatened with hoſtilities from France.

Philip the Fair, king of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his ſon Lewis Hutin; who, after a ſhort reign, dying without male iſſue, was ſucceeded by Philip the Long, his brother; whoſe death ſoon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngeſt brother of that family. This monarch had ſome grounds of complaint againſt the king's miniſters in Guienne; and, as there was no common or equitable judge in that ſtrange ſpecies of ſovereignty eſtabliſhed by the feudal law, he ſeemed deſirous to take advantage of Edward's weakneſs; and, under that pretence, to confiſcate all his foreign dominions.[f] After an embaſſy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Iſabella obtained permiſſion to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjuſt, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother. But, while ſhe was making ſome progreſs in this negociation, Charles ſtarted a new pretenſion, (the juſtice of which could not be diſputed) that Edward himſelf ſhould appear in his court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Spenſer, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aſpired to the ſame influence; and,

though that artful princeſs, on her leaving England, had diſſembled her animoſity, Spenſer, well acquainted with her ſecret ſentiments, was unwilling to attend his maſter to Paris, and appear in a court where her credit might expoſe him to inſults, if not danger. He heſitated no leſs on allowing the king to make the journey alone: both fearing leſt that eaſy prince ſhould in his abſence fall under other influence; and foreſeeing the perils to which he himſelf ſhould be expoſed, if without the protection of royal authority he remained in England, where he was ſo generally hated. While theſe doubts occaſioned delays and difficulties, Iſabella propoſed that Edward ſhould reſign the dominion of Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince ſhould come to Paris, and do the homage which every vaſſal owed to his ſuperior lord. This expedient, which ſeemed ſo happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately embraced; Spenſer was charmed with the contrivance; young Edward was ſent to Paris; and the ruin covered under this fatal ſnare was never perceived or ſuſpected by any of the Engliſh council.

## CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING. 1325.

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenſer ſoon begat a ſecret friendſhip and correſpondence between them and that princeſs. Among the reſt was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welſh marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his ſubmiſſions to the king; had been condemned for high treaſon; but, having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was ſo fortunate as to make his eſcape

into France;[g] and, being one of the moſt conſiderable perſons now remaining of the party, as well as diſtinguiſhed by his violent animoſity againſt Spenſer, he was eaſily admitted to pay his court to queen Iſabella. The graces of his perſon and addreſs advanced him quickly in her affections; he became her confidant and counſellor in all her meaſures; and, gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to ſacrifice at laſt to her paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and of fidelity to her huſband.[h] Hating now the man whom ſhe had injured, and whom ſhe never valued, ſhe entered ardently into all Mortimer's conſpiracies; and, having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince and heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the ſame criminal purpoſe; her court was daily filled with the exiled barons; Mortimer lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her; a correſpondence was ſecretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and, when Edward, informed of thoſe alarming circumſtances, required her ſpeedily to return with the prince, ſhe publicly replied that ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom till Spenſer was for ever removed from his preſence and councils. A declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treaſonable enterpriſes.

Edward endeavoured to put himſelf in a poſture[i] of defence; but, beſides the difficulties ariſing from his own indolence and ſlender abilities, and the want of authority which of conſequence attended all his reſolutions, it was not eaſy for him, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom and revenue, to maintain a conſtant force ready to repel an invaſion, which he knew not at what time or place he had reaſon to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the traiterous and hoſtile conſpiracies which, both at home and abroad, were forming againſt his authority, and which

were daily penetrating farther even into his own family. His brother, the earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his ſiſter-in-law, and by the king of France, who was alſo his couſin-german, to give countenance to the invaſion; whoſe ſole object, he believed, was the expulſion of the Spenſers. He prevailed on his elder brother, the earl of Norfolk, to enter ſecretly into the ſame deſign. The earl of Leiceſter, brother and heir of the earl of Lancaſter, had too many reaſons for his hatred of theſe miniſters to refuſe his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates, expreſſed their approbation of the queen's meaſures; ſeveral of the moſt potent barons, envying the authority of the favourite, were ready to fly to arms; the minds of the people, by means of ſome truths and many calumnies, were ſtrongly diſpoſed to the ſame party; and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with ſuch a body of foreign troops as might protect her againſt immediate violence, to turn all this tempeſt, ſo artfully prepared, againſt the unhappy Edward.

Charles, though he gave countenance and aſſiſtance to the faction, was aſhamed openly to ſupport the queen and prince againſt the authority of a huſband and father; and Iſabella was obliged to court the alliance of ſome other foreign potentate, from whoſe dominions ſhe might ſet out on her intended enterpriſe. For this purpoſe ſhe affianced young Edward, whoſe tender age made him incapable to judge of the conſequences, with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault;[k] and, having, by the open aſſiſtance of this prince and the ſecret protection of her brother, inliſted in her ſervice near three thouſand men, ſhe ſet ſail from the harbour of Dort, and landed ſafely, and without oppoſition, on the coaſt of Suffolk. The earl of Kent was in her company; two other princes of the blood, the earl of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter, joined her ſoon

after her landing with all their followers; three prelates, the biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vaſſals and the authority of their character;[l] even Robert de Watteville, who had been ſent by the king to oppoſe her progreſs in Suffolk, deſerted to her with all his forces. To render her cauſe more favourable, ſhe renewed her declaration that the ſole purpoſe of her enterpriſe was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spenſers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature.[m] The populace were allured by her ſpecious pretences; the barons thought themſelves ſecure againſt forfeitures by the appearance of the prince in her army; and a weak irreſolute king, ſupported by miniſters generally odious, was unable to ſtem this torrent, which bore with ſuch irreſiſtible violence againſt him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouſe the citizens of London to ſome ſenſe of duty,[n] departed for the weſt, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; and he had no ſooner diſcovered his weakneſs, by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without control againſt him and his miniſters. They firſt plundered, then murdered, all thoſe who were obnoxious to them. They ſeized the biſhop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was paſſing through the ſtreets; and, having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river.[o] They made themſelves maſter of the tower by ſurpriſe; they entered into a formal aſſociation to put to death, without mercy, every one who ſhould dare to oppoſe the enterpriſe of queen Iſabella, and of the prince.[p] A like ſpirit was ſoon communicated to all other parts of England; and threw the few ſervants of the king, who ſtill entertained thoughts of performing their duty, into terror and aſtoniſhment.

Edward was hotly purſued to Briſtol by the earl of Kent, ſeconded by the foreign forces under John de Hainault. He

found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty of thoſe parts; and he paſſed over to Wales, where he flattered himſelf his name was more popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had ſeized the Engliſh.[g] The elder Spenſer, created earl of Wincheſter, was left governor of the caſtle of Briſtol; but the garriſon mutinied againſt him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was inſtantly, without trial, or witneſs, or accuſation, or anſwer, condemned to death by the rebellious barons. He was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs;[h] and his head was ſent to Wincheſter, the place whoſe title he bore, and was there ſet on a pole, and expoſed to the inſults of the populace.

The king, diſappointed anew in his expectations of ſuccour from the Welſh, took ſhipping for Ireland; but, being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himſelf in the mountains of Wales. He was ſoon diſcovered, was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Leiceſter, and was confined in the caſtle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenſer, his favourite, who alſo fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed, like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial.[i] The earl of Arundel, almoſt the only man of his rank in England who had maintained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the inſtigation of Mortimer. Baldoc the chancellor, being a prieſt, could not with ſafety be ſo ſuddenly diſpatched; but, being ſent to the biſhop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foreſaw, ſeized by the populace, was thrown into Newgate, and ſoon after expired from the cruel uſage which he had received.[k] Even the uſual reverence paid to the ſacerdotal character gave way, with every other conſideration, to the preſent rage of the people.

THE queen, to avail herſelf of the prevailing deluſion, ſummoned, in the king's name, a parliament at Weſtminſter; where, together with the power of her army, and the authority of her partiſans among the barons, who were concerned to ſecure their paſt treaſons by committing new acts of violence againſt their ſovereign, ſhe expected to be ſeconded by the fury of the populace, the moſt dangerous of all inſtruments, and the leaſt anſwerable for their exceſſes. A charge was drawn up againſt the king, in which, even though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius or his misfortunes were objected to him; for the greateſt malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accuſed of incapacity for government; of waſting his time in idle amuſements; of neglecting public buſineſs; of being ſwayed by evil counſellors; of having loſt, by his miſconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and, to ſwell the charge, even the death of ſome barons, and the impriſonment of ſome prelates, convicted of treaſon, were laid to his account.[x] It was in vain, amidſt the violence of arms and tumult of the people, to appeal either to law or to reaſon; the depoſition of the king, without any appearing oppoſition, was voted by parliament; the prince, already declared regent by his party,[y] was placed on the throne; and a deputation was ſent to Edward at Kenilworth to require his reſignation, which menaces and terror ſoon extorted from him.

But it was impoſſible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, ſtill farther inflamed by faction, could for ever remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. Here a wife had firſt deſerted, next invaded, and then dethroned, her huſ-

band; had made her minor ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; had, by lying pretences, ſeduced the nation into a rebellion againſt their ſovereign; had puſhed them into violence and cruelties that had diſhonoured them. All thoſe circumſtances were ſo odious in themſelves, and formed ſuch a complicated ſcene of guilt, that the leaſt reflection ſufficed to open men's eyes, and make them deteſt this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The ſuſpicions which ſoon aroſe of Iſabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increaſed the general abhorrence againſt her; and her hypocriſy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate,[x] was not able to deceive even the moſt ſtupid and moſt prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendſhip, with veneration; and men became ſenſible that all his miſconduct, which faction had ſo much exaggerated, had been owing to the unavoidable weakneſs, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leiceſter, now earl of Lancaſter, to whoſe cuſtody he had been committed, was ſoon touched with thoſe generous ſentiments; and, beſides uſing his priſoner with gentleneſs and humanity, he was ſuſpected to have entertained ſtill more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and Mautravers, and Gournay; who were intruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the cuſtody of Berkeley, he was ſtill treated with the gentleneſs due to his rank and his misfortunes: but, when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every ſpecies of indignity was practiſed againſt him; as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's ſpirit, and to em-

ploy his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the inſtruments of his murder.[3] It is reported that one day, when Edward was to be ſhaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpoſe; and, when he deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed that, in ſpite of their inſolence, he ſhould be ſhaved with clean and warm water.[4] But, as this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared ſtill too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſecretly ſent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, inſtantly to diſpatch him; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's ſickneſs, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge,[5] they came to Berkeley-caſtle, on the twenty-firſt of September, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn; and, though the outward marks of violence upon his perſon were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams with which the agonizing king filled the caſtle while his bowels were conſuming.

Gournay and Mautravers were held in general deteſtation; and, when the enſuing revolution in England threw their protectors from power, they found it neceſſary to provide for their ſafety by flying the kingdom. Gournay was afterwards ſeized at Marſeilles, delivered over to the ſeneſchal of Guienne, put on board a ſhip with a view of carrying him to England; but was beheaded at ſea by ſecret orders, as was ſuppoſed, from ſome nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any diſcovery

which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers concealed himſelf for ſeveral years in Germany; but, having found means of rendering ſome ſervice to Edward III, he ventured to approach his perſon, threw himſelf on his knees before him, ſubmitted to mercy, and received a pardon.[b]

## CHARACTER OF EDWARD II.

It is not eaſy to imagine a man more innocent and inoffenſive than the unhappy king whoſe tragical death we have related; nor a prince leſs fitted for governing that fierce and turbulent people ſubjected to his authority. He was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government, which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear; the ſame indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of miniſters and favourites who were not always the beſt qualified for the truſt committed to them. The ſeditious grandees, pleaſed with his weakneſs, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his miniſters, inſulted his perſon and invaded his authority; and the impatient populace, miſtaking the ſource of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increaſed the public diſorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whoſe voice, always feeble in thoſe times, was not heard amidſt the din of arms; what could not defend the king was leſs able to give ſhelter to any of the people; the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence; and men, inſtead of regretting the manners of their age, and the form of their conſtitution, which required the moſt ſteady and moſt ſkilful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the perſon who had the misfortune to be intruſted with the reins of empire.

But, though ſuch miſtakes are natural and almoſt unavoidable while the events are recent, it is a ſhameful deluſion in modern hiſtorians to imagine that all the ancient princes, who were unfortunate in their government, were alſo tyrannical in their conduct, and that the ſeditions of the people always proceeded from ſome invaſion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not in that age ſecure againſt faction and rebellion, as appears in the caſe of Henry II; but a great king had the beſt chance, as we learn from the hiſtory of the ſame period, for quelling and ſubduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I and II. The father made ſeveral violent attempts againſt the liberties of the people; his barons oppoſed him; he was obliged, at leaſt found it prudent, to ſubmit; but, as they dreaded his valour and abilities, they were content with reaſonable ſatisfaction, and puſhed no farther their advantages againſt him. The facility and weakneſs of the ſon, not his violence, threw every thing into confuſion; the laws and government were overturned; an attempt to reinſtate them was an unpardonable crime; and no atonement, but the depoſition and tragical death of the king himſelf, could give thoſe barons contentment. It is eaſy to ſee that a conſtitution, which depended ſo much on the perſonal character of the prince, muſt neceſſarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without diſtinction, the blame of all diſorders upon the ſovereign would introduce a fatal error in politics, and ſerve as a perpetual apology for treaſon and rebellion; as if the turbulence of the great, and madneſs of the people, were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evils incident to human ſociety, and no leſs carefully to be guarded againſt in every well regulated conſtitution.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

WHILE theſe abominable ſcenes paſſed in England, the theatre of France was ſtained with a wickedneſs equally barbarous, and ſtill more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had ariſen during the firſt fervour of the cruſades; and, uniting the two qualities the moſt popular in that age, devotion and valour, and exerciſing both in the moſt popular of all enterpriſes, the defence of the holy land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every country of Europe, eſpecially in France. Their great riches, joined to the courſe of time, had by degrees relaxed the ſeverity of theſe virtues; and the templars had in a great meaſure loſt that popularity which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of thoſe fruitleſs expeditions to the eaſt, they rather choſe to enjoy in eaſe their opulent revenues in Europe; and, being all men of birth, (educated, according to the cuſtom of that age, without any tincture of letters) they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jeruſalem, whoſe poverty had as yet preſerved them from like corruptions, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their enterpriſes againſt the infidels; and ſucceeded to all the popularity which was loſt by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But, though theſe reaſons had weakened the foundations of this order, once ſo celebrated and revered, the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair; who, having entertained a private diſguſt againſt ſome eminent templars, determined to

gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their ſuperiors to perpetual impriſonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the templars in France to be committed to priſon, and imputed to them ſuch enormous and abſurd crimes as are ſufficient of themſelves to deſtroy all the credit of the accuſation. Beſides their being univerſally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the moſt ſhocking to nature, every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to ſpit upon the croſs,[c] and to join to this impiety the ſuperſtition of worſhipping a gilded head, which was ſecretly kept in one of their houſes at Marſeilles. They alſo initiated, it was ſaid, every candidate by ſuch infamous rites as could ſerve to no other purpoſe than to degrade the order in his eyes, and deſtroy for ever the authority of all his ſuperiors over him.[d] Above a hundred of theſe unhappy gentlemen were put to the queſtion, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their guilt; the more obſtinate periſhed in the hands of their tormentors; ſeveral, to procure immediate eaſe in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confeſſions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiſcation of all their treaſures. But no ſooner were the templars relieved from their tortures than, preferring the moſt cruel execution to a life with infamy, they diſavowed their confeſſions, exclaimed againſt the forgeries, juſtified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this diſappointment, and thinking himſelf now engaged in honour to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapſed heretics, to periſh by the

puniſhment of fire in his capital; great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom; and, when he found that the perſeverance of theſe unhappy victims, in juſtifying to the laſt their innocence, had made deep impreſſion on the ſpectators, he endeavoured to overcome the conſtancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand maſter of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a ſcaffold, erected before the church of Notredame at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand, the fire, deſtined for their execution, was ſhewn to them on the other; theſe gallant nobles ſtill perſiſted in the proteſtations of their own innocence and that of their order, and were inſtantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.[e]

In all this barbarous injuſtice Clement V, who was the creature of Philip, and then reſided in France, fully concurred; and, without examining a witneſs, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he ſummarily, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, aboliſhed the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into priſon; their conduct underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny; the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them; but no where, except in France, were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England ſent an ample teſtimony of their piety and morals; but, as the order was now annihilated, the knights were diſtributed into ſeveral convents, and their poſſeſſions were, by command of the pope, transferred to the order of St. John.[f] We now proceed to relate ſome other detached tranſactions of the preſent period.

The kingdom of England was afflicted with a grievous famine during ſeveral years of this reign. Perpetual rains and cold weather not only deſtroyed the harveſt, but bred a mortality among the cattle, and raiſed every kind of food to an enormous

price.[g] The parliament in 1315 endeavoured to fix more moderate rates to commodities; not ſenſible that ſuch an attempt was impracticable, and that, were it poſſible to reduce the price of proviſions by any other expedient than by introducing plenty, nothing could be more pernicious and deſtructive to the public. Where the produce of a year, for inſtance, falls ſo far ſhort as to afford full ſubſiſtence only for nine months, the only expedient for making it laſt all the twelve is to raiſe the prices, to put the people by that means on ſhort allowance, and oblige them to ſave their food till a more plentiful ſeaſon. But, in reality, the increaſe of prices is a neceſſary conſequence of ſcarcity; and laws, inſtead of preventing it, only aggravate the evil, by cramping and reſtraining commerce. The parliament accordingly, in the enſuing year, repealed their ordinance, which they had found uſeleſs and burdenſome.[h]

The prices affixed by the parliament are ſomewhat remarkable. Three pounds twelve ſhillings of our preſent money for the beſt ſtalled ox; for other oxen two pounds eight ſhillings; a fat hog of two years old ten ſhillings; a fat wether unſhorn a crown, if ſhorn three ſhillings and ſixpence; a fat gooſe ſevenpence halfpenny; a fat capon ſixpence; a fat hen three-pence; two chickens three-pence; four pigeons three-pence; two dozen of eggs three-pence.[i] If we conſider theſe prices, we ſhall find that butcher's meat, in this time of great ſcarcity, muſt ſtill have been ſold, by the parliamentary ordinance, three times cheaper than our middling prices at preſent: poultry ſomewhat lower; becauſe, being now conſidered as a delicacy, it has riſen beyond its proportion. In the country places of Ireland and Scotland, where delicacies bear no price, poultry is at preſent as cheap, if not cheaper, than butcher's meat. But the inference I would draw from the compariſon of prices is ſtill more conſiderable. I ſuppoſe that the rates affixed by parliament were inferior to

the uſual market prices in thoſe years of famine and mortality of cattle; and that theſe commodities, inſtead of a third, had really riſen to a half of the preſent value. But the famine at that time was ſo conſuming, that wheat was ſometimes ſold for above four pounds ten ſhillings a quarter,[k] uſually for three pounds;[l] that is, twice our middling prices: a certain proof of the wretched ſtate of tillage in thoſe ages. We formerly found that the middling price of corn in that period was half of the preſent price, while the middling price of cattle was only an eighth part; we here find the ſame immenſe diſproportion in years of ſcarcity. It may thence be inferred with certainty that the raiſing of corn was a ſpecies of manufactory, which few in that age could practiſe with advantage: and there is reaſon to think that other manufactures, more refined, were ſold even beyond their preſent prices; at leaſt there is a demonſtration for it in the reign of Henry VII, from the rates affixed to ſcarlet and other broad cloth by act of parliament. During all thoſe times, it was uſual for the princes and great nobility to make ſettlements of their velvet beds and ſilken robes, in the ſame manner as of their eſtates and manors.[m] In the liſt of jewels and plate which had belonged to the oſtentatious Gavaſton, and which the king recovered from the earl of Lancaſter after the murder of that favourite, we find ſome embroidered girdles, flowered ſhirts, and ſilk waiſtcoats.[n] It was afterwards one article of accuſation againſt that potent and opulent earl, when he was put to death, that he had purloined ſome of that finery of Gavaſton's. The ignorance of thoſe ages in manufactures, and ſtill more their unſkilful huſbandry, ſeem a clear proof that the country was then far from being populous.

All trade and manufactures indeed were then at a very low ebb. The only country in the northern parts of Europe, where they ſeem to have riſen to any tolerable degree of improvement,

was Flanders. When Robert, earl of that country, was applied to by the king, and was desired to break off commerce with the Scots, whom Edward called his rebels, and represented as excommunicated on that account by the church, the earl replied that Flanders was always considered as common, and free, and open, to all nations.

The petition of the elder Spenser to parliament, complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains several particulars which are curious, and discover the manners of the age.[p] He affirms that they had ravaged sixty-three manors belonging to him, and he makes his losses amount to forty-six thousand pounds; that is, to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand of our present money. Among other particulars he enumerates twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and heifers, twelve hundred cows with their breed for two years, five hundred and sixty cart horses, two thousand hogs together with six hundred bacons, eighty carcases of beef, and six hundred muttons in the larder; ten tuns of cyder, arms for two hundred men, and other warlike engines and provisions. The plain inference is, that the greater part of Spenser's vast estate, as well as the estates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himself, managed by his stewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains; little or none of it was let on lease to husbandmen; its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality by the baron or his officers; a great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him; all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his dispossal; instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations. The method, in which we find they

treated the king's favourites and miniſters, is a proof of their uſual way of dealing with each other. A party, which complains of the arbitrary conduct of miniſters, ought naturally to affect a great regard for the laws and conſtitution, and maintain at leaſt the appearance of juſtice in their proceedings: yet thoſe barons, when diſcontented, came to parliament with an armed force; conſtrained the king to aſſent to their meaſures; and, without any trial, or witneſs, or conviction, paſſed, from the pretended notoriety of facts, an act of baniſhment or attainder againſt the miniſter, which, on the firſt revolution of fortune, was reverſed by like expedients. The parliament, during factious times, was nothing but the organ of preſent power. Though the perſons of whom it was chiefly compoſed ſeemed to enjoy great independence, they really poſſeſſed no true liberty; and the ſecurity of each individual among them was not ſo much derived from the general protection of law as from his own private power, and that of his confederates. The authority of the monarch, though far from abſolute, was irregular, and might often reach him; the current of a faction might overwhelm him; a hundred conſiderations of benefits and injuries, friendſhips and animoſities, hopes and fears, were able to influence his conduct; and, amidſt theſe motives, a regard to equity, and law, and juſtice, was commonly, in thoſe rude ages, of little moment. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of oppoſing preſent power, who did not deem himſelf ſtrong enough to diſpute the field with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the ſovereign or the ruling party.

Before I conclude this reign I cannot forbear making another remark, drawn from the detail of loſſes given in by the elder Spenſer; particularly the great quantity of ſalted meat which he had in his larder; ſix hundred bacons, eighty carcaſes of beef, ſix hundred muttons. We may obſerve that the outrage of which

he complained began after the third of May, or the eleventh new ſtyle, as we learn from the ſame paper. It is eaſy, therefore, to conjecture what a vaſt ſtore of the ſame kind he muſt have laid up at the beginning of winter: and we may draw a new concluſion with regard to the wretched ſtate of ancient huſbandry, which could not provide ſubſiſtence for the cattle during winter, even in ſuch a temperate climate as the ſouth of England; for Spenſer had but one manor ſo far north as Yorkſhire. There being few or no encloſures except perhaps for deer, no ſown graſs, little hay, and no other reſource for feeding cattle, the barons, as well as the people, were obliged to kill and ſalt their oxen and ſheep in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common paſture; a precaution ſtill practiſed with regard to oxen in the leaſt cultivated parts of this iſland. The ſalting of mutton is a miſerable expedient, which has every where been long diſuſed. From this circumſtance, however trivial in appearance, may be drawn important inferences with regard to the domeſtic œconomy and manner of life in thoſe ages.

The diſorders of the times, from foreign wars and inteſtine diſſenſions; but, above all, the cruel famine, which obliged the nobility to diſmiſs many of their retainers; increaſed the number of robbers in the kingdom: and no place was ſecure from their incurſions.[q] They met in troops like armies, and overran the country. Two cardinals themſelves, the pope's legates, notwithſtanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed, and deſpoiled of their goods and equipage, when they travelled on the highway.[r]

Among the other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined that the perſons affected with leproſy, a diſeaſe at that time very common, probably from bad diet, had conſpired with the Saracens to poiſon all the ſprings and fountains; and, men being

glad of any pretence to get rid of thoſe who were a burden to them, many of thoſe unhappy people were burnt alive on this chimerical imputation. Several Jews alſo were puniſhed in their perſons, and their goods were confiſcated, on the ſame account.*

Stowe, in his ſurvey of London, gives us a curious inſtance of the hoſpitality of the ancient nobility in this period. It is taken from the accounts of the cofferer or ſteward of Thomas earl of Lancaſter, and contains the expenſes of that earl during the year 1313, which was not a year of famine. For the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, three thouſand four hundred and five pounds; for three hundred and ſixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two of white, one hundred and four pounds, &c. The whole ſeven thouſand three hundred and nine pounds; that is near twenty-two thouſand pounds of our preſent money; and, making allowance for the cheapneſs of commodities, near a hundred thouſand pounds.

I have ſeen a French manuſcript, containing accounts of ſome private diſburſements of this king. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. To judge by the events of the reign, this ought not to have been an eaſy undertaking.

This king left four children, two ſons and two daughters; Edward, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald count of Gueldres.

# EDWARD III.

## CHAP. XV. & XVI.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND: EXECUTION OF MORTIMER: KING'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE: WAR: INVASION OF FRANCE: BATTLE OF CRECY: WAR WITH SCOTLAND: CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF SCOTS: CALAIS TAKEN: INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER: BATTLE OF POICTIERS: INVASION OF FRANCE: PEACE OF BRETIGNE: DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES: DEATH & CHARACTER OF THE KING.

## CHAPTER XV.

# EDWARD III.

1327....1377.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND....EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF KENT.... EXECUTION OF MORTIMER EARL OF MARCH....STATE OF SCOTLAND....WAR WITH THAT KINGDOM....KING'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE....PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE.... WAR....NAVAL VICTORY....DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES....AFFAIRS OF BRITTANY....RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE....INVASION OF FRANCE....BATTLE OF CRESSY....CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF SCOTS....CALAIS TAKEN.

THE violent party, which had taken arms againſt Edward II, and finally depoſed that unfortunate monarch, deemed it requiſite, for their future ſecurity, to pay ſo far an exterior obeiſance to the law as to deſire a parliamentary indemnity for all their illegal proceedings; on account of the neceſſity which, it was pretended, they lay under of employing force againſt the Spenſers and other evil counſellors, enemies of the kingdom. All the attainders alſo, which had paſſed againſt the earl of Lancaſter and his adherents when the chance of war turned againſt them, were eaſily reverſed during the triumph of their party;[1] and the

Spenſers, whoſe former attainder had been reverſed by parliament, were now again, in this change of fortune, condemned by the votes of their enemies. A council of regency was likewiſe appointed by parliament, conſiſting of twelve perſons: five prelates, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Worceſter, and Hereford; and ſeven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Roſs. The earl of Lancaſter was appointed guardian and protector of the king's perſon. But, though it was reaſonable to expect that, as the weakneſs of the former king had given reins to the licentiouſneſs of the barons, great domeſtic tranquillity would not prevail during the preſent minority, the firſt diſturbance aroſe from an invaſion by foreign enemies.

## WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1327.

The king of Scots, declining in years and health, but retaining ſtill that martial ſpirit which had raiſed his nation from the loweſt ebb of fortune, deemed the preſent opportunity favourable for infeſting England. He firſt made an attempt on the caſtle of Norham, in which he was diſappointed; he then collected an army of twenty-five thouſand men on the frontiers, and, having given the command to the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatened an incurſion into the northern counties. The Engliſh regency, after trying in vain every expedient to reſtore peace with Scotland, made vigorous preparations for war; and, beſides aſſembling an Engliſh army of near ſixty thouſand men, they invited back John of Hainault, and ſome foreign cavalry, whom they had diſmiſſed, and whoſe diſcipline and arms had appeared ſuperior to thoſe of their own country. Young Edward himſelf, burning with a paſſion for military fame, appeared at the head of theſe numerous forces, and marched from

Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, in queſt of the enemy; who had already broken into the frontiers, and were laying every thing waſte around them.

Murray and Douglas were the two moſt celebrated warriors, bred in the long hoſtilities between the Scots and Engliſh; and their forces, trained in the ſame ſchool, and inured to hardſhips, fatigues, and dangers, were perfectly qualified, by their habits and manner of life, for that deſultory and deſtructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of about four thouſand cavalry, well armed, and fit to make a ſteady impreſſion in battle, the reſt of the army were light-armed troops, mounted on ſmall horſes; which found ſubſiſtence every where, and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches, whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, or to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country. Their whole equipage conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a ſupply in caſe of neceſſity, each ſoldier carried behind him; together with a light plate of iron, on which he inſtantly baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief ſubſiſtence was the cattle which he ſeized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the ſkin, looſe, and hanging in the form of a bag, upon ſome ſtakes; he poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it ſerve as a caldron for the boiling of his victuals."

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, after compoſing ſome dangerous frays which broke out between his foreign forces and the Engliſh,[x] was to come up with an army ſo rapid in its marches, and ſo little incumbered in its motions. Though the flame and ſmoke of burning villages directed him ſufficiently to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hurrying thi-

by new marks of devaſtation, that they had removed to ſome diſtant quarter. After haraſſing his army during ſome time in this fruitleſs chaſe, he advanced northwards, and croſſed the Tyne, with a reſolution of awaiting them on their return homewards, and taking vengeance for all their depredations.[y] But that whole country was already ſo much waſted by their frequent incurſions, that it could not afford ſubſiſtence to his army; and he was obliged again to return ſouthwards, and change his plan of operations. He had now loſt all track of the enemy; and, though he promiſed the reward of a hundred pounds a year to any one who ſhould bring him an account of their motions, he remained unactive ſome days before he received any intelligence of them.[z] He found at laſt that they had fixed their camp on the ſouthern banks of the Were, as if they intended to await a battle; but their prudent leaders had choſen the ground with ſuch judgment that the Engliſh, on their approach, ſaw it impracticable, without temerity, to croſs the river in their front and attack them in their preſent ſituation. Edward, impatient for revenge and glory, here ſent them a defiance, and challenged them, if they dared, to meet him in an equal field, and try the fortune of arms. The bold ſpirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he adviſed the acceptance of the challenge; but he was overruled by Murray, who replied to Edward that he never took the counſel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, kept ſtill his poſition oppoſite to the Scots; and daily expected that neceſſity would oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them with ſuperior forces. After a few days they ſuddenly decamped, and marched farther up the river; but ſtill poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to preſerve the advantage of the ground if the enemy ſhould venture to attack them.[a] Edward inſiſted that all hazards ſhould be run, rather than allow theſe

ravagers to eſcape with impunity; but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack, and oppoſed itſelf to the valour of the young monarch. While the armies lay in this poſition, an incident happened which had well nigh proved fatal to the Engliſh. Douglas, having gotten the word and ſurveyed exactly the ſituation of the Engliſh camp, entered it ſecretly in the night-time with a body of two hundred determined ſoldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king in the midſt of his army. But ſome of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made reſiſtance; his chaplain and chamberlain ſacrificed their lives for his ſafety; the king himſelf, after making a valorous defence, eſcaped in the dark; and Douglas, having loſt the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a haſty retreat with the remainder.[b] Soon after the Scottiſh army decamped, without noiſe, in the dead of night; and, having thus gotten the ſtart of the Engliſh, arrived, without farther loſs, in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottiſh encampment, found only ſix Engliſhmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.[c]

The king was highly incenſed at the diſappointment which he had met with in his firſt enterpriſe, and at the head of ſo gallant an army. The ſymptoms which he had diſcovered of bravery and ſpirit gave extreme ſatisfaction, and were regarded as ſure prognoſtics of an illuſtrious reign. But the general diſpleaſure fell violently on Mortimer, who was already the object of public odium; and every meaſure which he purſued tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the nation both againſt him and queen Iſabella.

When the council of regency was formed Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had taken no care to enſure a

place in it; but this ſemblance of moderation was only a cover to the moſt iniquitous and moſt ambitious projects. He rendered that council entirely uſeleſs by uſurping to himſelf the whole ſovereign authority; he ſettled on the queen-dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never conſulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public meaſure; the king himſelf was ſo beſieged by his creatures that no acceſs could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gavaſton and Spenſer fell much more deſervedly on the new favourite.

Mortimer, ſenſible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it requiſite on any terms to ſecure peace abroad; and he entered into a negociation with Robert Bruce for that purpoſe. As the claim of ſuperiority in England, more than any other cauſe, had tended to inflame the animoſities between the two nations, Mortimer, beſides ſtipulating a marriage between Jane, ſiſter of Edward, and David, the ſon and heir of Robert, conſented to reſign abſolutely this claim; to give up all the homages done by the Scottiſh parliament and nobility; and to acknowledge Robert as independent ſovereign of Scotland.[d] In return for theſe advantages Robert ſtipulated the payment of thirty thouſand marks to England. This treaty was ratified by parliament;[e] but was nevertheleſs the ſource of great diſcontent among the people; who, having entered zealouſly into the pretenſions of Edward I, and deemed themſelves diſgraced by the ſucceſsful reſiſtance made by ſo inferior a nation, were diſappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes both of conqueſt and of vengeance.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer entertained great ſuſpicions of their deſigns againſt him. In ſummoning them to parliament he ſtrictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming attended by an armed force, an illegal but uſual practice

in that age. The three earls, as they approached to Saliſbury, the place appointed for the meeting of parliament, found that, though they themſelves, in obedience to the king's command, had brought only their uſual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms; and they began with ſome reaſon to apprehend a dangerous deſign againſt their perſons. They retreated, aſſembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer; when the weakneſs of Kent and Norfolk, who deſerted the common cauſe, obliged Lancaſter alſo to make his ſubmiſſions.[f] The quarrel, by the interpoſition of the prelates, ſeemed for the preſent to be appeaſed.

## EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF KENT. 1330.

But Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victim; and the ſimplicity, with the good intentions, of the earl of Kent afforded him ſoon after an opportunity of practiſing upon him. By himſelf and his emiſſaries he endeavoured to perſuade that prince that his brother king Edward was ſtill alive, and detained in ſome ſecret priſon in England. The earl, whoſe remorſes for the part which he had acted againſt the late king probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a deſign of reſtoring him to liberty, of reinſtating him on the throne, and of making thereby ſome atonement for the injuries which he himſelf had unwarily done him.[g] After this harmleſs contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was ſeized by Mortimer; was accuſed before the parliament; and condemned, by thoſe ſlaviſh though turbulent barons, to loſe his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehenſive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the priſoner

was beheaded next day. But, ſo general was the affection born him, and ſuch pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, that, though peers had been eaſily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office.[h]

The earl of Lancaſter, on pretence of his having aſſented to this conſpiracy, was ſoon after thrown into priſon. Many of the prelates and nobility were proſecuted. Mortimer employed this engine to cruſh all his enemies, and to enrich himſelf and his family by the forfeitures. The eſtate of the earl of Kent was ſeized for his younger ſon Geoffrey; the immenſe fortunes of the Spenſers and their adherents were moſtly converted to his own uſe; he affected a ſtate and dignity equal, or ſuperior, to the royal; his power became formidable to every one; his illegal practices were daily complained of; and all parties, forgetting paſt animoſities, conſpired in their hatred of Mortimer.

## EXECUTION OF MORTIMER.

It was impoſſible that theſe abuſes could long eſcape the obſervation of a prince endowed with ſo much ſpirit and judgment as young Edward; who, being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himſelf capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this inſolent miniſter. But ſo much was he ſurrounded by the emiſſaries of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project for ſubverting him with the ſame ſecreſy and precaution as if he had been forming a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. He communicated his intentions to lord Mountacute, who engaged the lords Molins and Clifford, ſir John Nevil of Hornby, ſir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others, to enter into their views; and the caſtle of Nottingham was choſen for the ſcene of the enterpriſe. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that

THE SEIZING OF MORTIMER

J. Opie R.A. pinx. J. Fittler sculp.

fortreſs; the king alſo was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and, as the caſtle was ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became neceſſary to communicate the deſign to ſir William Eland the governor, who zealouſly took part in it. By his direction the king's aſſociates were admitted through a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had formerly been contrived for a ſecret outlet from the caſtle, but was now buried in rubbiſh; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make reſiſtance, was ſuddenly ſeized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's.[i] A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation. He was accuſed before that aſſembly of having uſurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and miſdemeanors.[k] The parliament condemned him, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his anſwer, or examining a witneſs; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, in the neighbourhood of London. It is remarkable that this ſentence was, near twenty years after, reverſed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's ſon; and the reaſon aſſigned was the illegal manner of proceeding.[l] The principles of law and juſtice were eſtabliſhed in England, not in ſuch a degree as to prevent any iniquitous ſentence againſt a perſon obnoxious to the ruling party, but ſufficient, on the return of his credit or that of his friends, to ſerve as a reaſon or pretence for its reverſal.

Juſtice was alſo executed, by a ſentence of the houſe of peers, on ſome of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Be-

reford. But the barons, in that act of juriſdiction, entered a proteſt that, though they had tried Bereford, who was none of their peers, they ſhould not for the future be obliged to receive any ſuch indictment. The queen was confined to her own houſe at Riſings near London; her revenue was reduced to four thouſand pounds a year;[m] and, though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent viſit once or twice a year, ſhe never was able to reinſtate herſelf in any credit or authority.

Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himſelf with induſtry and judgment to redreſs all thoſe grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority in the crown, or from the late abuſes of it. He iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter juſtice without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the miniſters. And, as the robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had, during the courſe of public convulſions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made uſe of them againſt their enemies, the king, after exacting from the peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament that they would break off all connexions[n] with ſuch malefactors, ſet himſelf in earneſt to remedy the evil. Many of theſe gangs had become ſo numerous as to require his own preſence to diſperſe them; and he exerted both courage and induſtry in executing this ſalutary office. The miniſters of juſtice, from his example, employed the utmoſt diligence in diſcovering, purſuing, and puniſhing, the criminals. And this diſorder was by degrees corrected, at leaſt palliated; the utmoſt that could be expected with regard to a diſeaſe hitherto inherent in the conſtitution.

## STATE OF SCOTLAND. 1332.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious ſpirit of Edward ſought, and ſoon found, an opportunity of exerting itſelf. The wiſe and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, and had fixed it by the laſt treaty of peace with England, ſoon after died, and left David his ſon, a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolf earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. It had been ſtipulated in this treaty that both the Scottiſh nobility, who before the commencement of the wars enjoyed lands in England, and the Engliſh who inherited eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions:° but, though this article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who obſerved that the eſtates claimed by Engliſhmen were much more numerous and valuable than the others, either thought it dangerous to admit ſo many ſecret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wreſt from his own followers the poſſeſſions beſtowed on them as the reward of former ſervices; and he had protracted the performance of his part of the ſtipulation. The Engliſh nobles, diſappointed in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and, as their influence was great in the north, their enmity alone, even though unſupported by the king of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, who ſucceeded to the Scottiſh throne.

Edward Baliol, the ſon of that John who was crowned king of Scotland, had been detained ſome time a priſoner in England after his father was releaſed; but, having alſo obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and reſided in Normandy on his patrimonial eſtate in that country, without any thoughts of re-

viving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretenſions, however plauſible, had been ſo ſtrenuouſly abjured by the Scots, and rejected by the Engliſh, that he was univerſally regarded as a private perſon; and he had been thrown into priſon on account of ſome private offence of which he was accuſed. Lord Beaumont, a great Engliſh baron, who in the right of his wife claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, found him in this ſituation; and, deeming him a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, made ſuch intereſt with the king of France, who was not aware of the conſequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over with him to England.

The injured nobles, poſſeſſed of ſuch a head, began to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms; and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. But there were ſeveral reaſons which deterred the king from openly avowing their enterpriſe. In his treaty with Scotland he had entered into a bond of twenty thouſand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace; and, as the term was not yet elapſed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the ſovereign pontiff, who poſſeſſed ſo many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was alſo afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with ſuperior force a minor king and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had ſo lately been acknowledged by a ſolemn treaty. And, as the regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of reſtitution to the Engliſh barons, had always confeſſed the juſtice of their claim, and had only given an evaſive anſwer, grounded on plauſible pretences, Edward reſolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ like artifices againſt him. He ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his enterpriſe; connived at his aſſembling forces in the north; and gave countenance to

the nobles who were diſpoſed to join the attempt. A force of near two thouſand five hundred men was inliſted under Baliol, by Umfreville earl of Angus, the lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitzwarin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As theſe adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be ſtrongly armed and guarded, they reſolved to make their attack by ſea; and, having embarked at Ravenſpur, they reached in a few days the coaſt of Fife.

Scotland was at that time in a very different ſituation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Beſides the loſs of that great monarch, whoſe genius and authority preſerved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained an union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of reſt, had gone over to Spain in a cruſade againſt the Moors, and had there periſhed in battle.[q] The earl of Murray, who had long been declining through age and infirmities, had lately died, and had been ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marre, a man of much inferior talents. The military ſpirit of the Scots, though ſtill unbroken, was left without a proper guidance and direction; and a minor king ſeemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance, which it had required all the conſummate valour and abilities of his father to acquire and maintain. But, as the Scots were appriſed of the intended invaſion, great numbers, on the appearance of the Engliſh fleet, immediately ran to the ſhore, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Baliol had valour and activity, and he drove back the Scots with conſiderable loſs.[r] He marched weſtward into the heart of the country, flattering himſelf that the ancient partiſans of his family would declare for him: but, the fierce animoſities which had been kindled between the two nations inſpiring the Scots with a ſtrong prejudice againſt a prince ſupported by the Engliſh, he was regarded as a common enemy; and the regent found no

difficulty in aſſembling a great army to oppoſe him. It is pretended that Marre had no leſs than forty thouſand men under his banners: but the ſame hurry and impatience that made him collect a force, which from its greatneſs was ſo diſproportioned to the occaſion, rendered all his motions unſkilful and imprudent. The river Erne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that ſecurity as well as in their great ſuperiority of numbers, kept no order in their encampment. Baliol paſſed the river in the night-time; attacked the unguarded and undiſciplined Scots; threw them into confuſion, which was increaſed by the darkneſs, and by their very numbers, to which they truſted; and he beat them off the field with great ſlaughter.[s] But in the morning, when the Scots were at ſome diſtance, they were aſhamed of having yielded the victory to ſo weak a foe, and they hurried back to recover the honour of the day. Their eager paſſions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to ſome broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which diſordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol ſeized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented them from rallying, and anew chaſed them off the field with redoubled ſlaughter. There fell above twelve thouſand Scots in this action, and among theſe the flower of the nobility; the regent himſelf; the earl of Carric, a natural ſon of their late king; the earls of Athole and Monteith; lord Hay of Errol, conſtable; and the lords Keith and Lindſey. The loſs of the Engliſh ſcarcely exceeded thirty men; a ſtrong proof, among many others, of the miſerable ſtate of military diſcipline in thoſe ages.[t]

Baliol ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Perth, but ſtill was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patrick Dunbar earl of March, and ſir Archibald Douglas brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottiſh armies,

which amounted ſtill to near forty thouſand men; and they propoſed to reduce Baliol and the Engliſh by famine. They blockaded Perth by land; they collected ſome veſſels, with which they inveſted it by water. But Baliol's ſhips, attacking the Scottiſh fleet, gained a complete victory, and opened the communication between Perth and the ſea.* The Scotch armies were then obliged to diſband for want of pay and ſubſiſtence. The nation was, in effect, ſubdued by a handful of men. Each nobleman, who found himſelf moſt expoſed to danger, ſucceſſively ſubmitted to Baliol; that prince was crowned at Scone; David, his competitor, was ſent over to France with his betrothed wife, Jane ſiſter to Edward; and the heads of his party ſued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted them, in order to aſſemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recogniſed by the whole Scottiſh nation.

But Baliol's imprudence, or his neceſſities, making him diſmiſs the greater part of his Engliſh followers, he was, notwithſtanding the truce, attacked of a ſudden near Annan, by ſir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of that party; he was routed; his brother John Baliol was ſlain; he himſelf was chaſed into England in a miſerable condition; and thus loſt his kingdom by a revolution as ſudden as that by which he had acquired it.

## WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1333.

While Baliol enjoyed his ſhort-lived and precarious royalty, he had been ſenſible that, without the protection of England, it would be impoſſible for him to maintain poſſeſſion of the throne; and he had ſecretly ſent a meſſage to Edward, offering to acknowledge his ſuperiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, if the pope's conſent

could be obtained for diſſolving her former marriage, which was not yet conſummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important conceſſion, made by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all ſcruples, and willingly accepted the offer: but, as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this ſtipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinſtate him in poſſeſſion of the crown; an enterpriſe which appeared from late experience ſo eaſy and ſo little hazardous. As he poſſeſſed many popular arts, he conſulted his parliament on the occaſion: but that aſſembly, finding the reſolution already taken, declined giving any opinion; and only granted him, in order to ſupport the enterpriſe, an aid of a fifteenth from the perſonal eſtates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of boroughs; and they added a petition, that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grieving his ſubjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous ſeizure of their goods in the ſhape of purveyance.[x]

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas the regent threw a ſtrong garriſon into that place, under the command of ſir William Keith; and he himſelf aſſembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England as ſoon as Edward ſhould have inveſted that place. The Engliſh army was leſs numerous, but better ſupplied with arms and proviſions, and retained in ſtricter diſcipline; and the king, notwithſtanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had, in two months, reduced the garriſon to extremities, and had obliged them to capitulate: they engaged to ſurrender, if they were not relieved within a few days by their countrymen.[y] This intelligence being conveyed to the Scottiſh army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and engaged them to advance towards Berwick, and attempt the relief of that important fortreſs. Dou-

glas, who had ever purpoſed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was ſenſible of the enemy's ſuperiority, and who intended to have drawn out the war by ſmall ſkirmiſhes, and by mutually ravaging each other's country, was forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the Engliſh at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; and, though his heavy-armed cavalry diſmounted, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſperate, they were received with ſuch valour by Edward, and were ſo galled by the Engliſh archers, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder, and, on the fall of Douglas their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled in confuſion; and the Engliſh, but much more the Iriſh, gave little quarter in the purſuit. All the nobles of chief diſtinction were either ſlain or taken priſoners; near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action; while the loſs of the Engliſh amounted only to one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen private ſoldiers: an inequality almoſt incredible.[z]

After this fatal blow the Scottiſh nobles had no other reſource than inſtant ſubmiſſion; and Edward, leaving a conſiderable body with Baliol to complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recogniſed; many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to Edward; and, to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the Engliſh monarchy.[a]

If Baliol, on his firſt appearance, was dreaded by the Scots as an inſtrument employed by England for the ſubjection of the kingdom, this deed confirmed all their ſuſpicions, and rendered

him the object of univerſal hatred. Whatever ſubmiſſions they might be obliged to make, they conſidered him not as their prince, but as the delegate and confederate of their determined enemy; and, neither the manners of the age, nor the ſtate of Edward's revenue, permitting him to maintain a ſtanding army in Scotland, the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with ſucceſs his valour and activity in many ſmall but deciſive actions againſt Baliol; and in a ſhort time had almoſt wholly expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to aſſemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and faſtneſſes. He deſtroyed the houſes, and ravaged the eſtates, of thoſe whom he called rebels. But this confirmed them ſtill farther in their obſtinate antipathy to England and to Baliol: and, being now rendered deſperate, they were ready to take advantage, on the firſt opportunity, of the retreat of their enemy; and they ſoon reconquered their country from the Engliſh. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like ſucceſs. He found every thing hoſtile in the kingdom, except the ſpot on which he was encamped; and, though he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itſelf was farther than ever from being broken and ſubdued. Beſides being ſupported by their pride and anger, paſſions difficult to tame, they were encouraged, amidſt all their calamities, by daily promiſes of relief from France; and, as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reaſon to expect, from this incident, a great diverſion of that force which had ſo long oppreſſed and overwhelmed them.

## CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE. 1337.

We now come to a tranſaction, on which depended the moſt memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole Engliſh and French hiſtory during more than a century; and it will, therefore, be neceſſary to give a particular account of the ſprings and cauſes of it.

It had long been a prevailing opinion that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female: and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and aſſign it a determinate origin, it had been uſual to derive it from a clauſe in the Salian code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clauſe, when ſtrictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confeſſion of the beſt antiquaries, bear the ſenſe commonly impoſed upon it. But, though poſitive law ſeems wanting among the French for the excluſion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was eſtabliſhed beyond controverſy on ſome ancient, as well as ſome modern, precedents. During the firſt race of the monarchy the Franks were ſo rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of ſubmitting to a female reign; and in that period of their hiſtory there were frequent inſtances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice to females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of conſanguinity. Theſe precedents, joined to like cauſes, had alſo eſtabliſhed the male ſucceſſion in the ſecond race; and, though the inſtances were neither ſo frequent nor ſo certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line ſeems ſtill to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race the crown had deſcended from father to ſon for eleven generations; from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in

fact, during the courſe of nine hundred years the French monarchy had always been governed by males, and no female; and none who founded his title on a female had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three ſons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; and one daughter, Iſabella queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldeſt, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret ſiſter to Eudes duke of Burgundy; and, as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed regent till it ſhould appear whether the child proved a ſon or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days; Philip was proclaimed king; and, as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſerted the rights of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, gave her an excluſion, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without diſpute or controverſy, then ſucceeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was alſo ſhort. He left one daughter; but, as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion if the iſſue ſhould prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed king; being the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the couſin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worſe grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an

eſtabliſhed opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law: it was ſupported by ancient precedents: it was confirmed by recent inſtances, ſolemnly and deliberately decided: and, what placed it ſtill farther beyond controverſy, if Edward was diſpoſed to queſtion its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretenſions; ſince the three laſt kings had all left daughters, who were ſtill alive, and who ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion. He was, therefore, reduced to aſſert that, though his mother Iſabella was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceeding, he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, beſides that this pretenſion was more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was ſo contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of ſucceſſion in every country of Europe,[b] was ſo repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim. Philip's title was univerſally recogniſed;[c] and he never imagined that he had a competitor, much leſs ſo formidable a one as the king of England.

But, though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had raſhly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to inſiſt on his pretenſions; which muſt have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and implacable war with ſo powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience, and, at that time, of an eſtabliſhed character both for prudence and valour; and by theſe circumſtances, as well as by the internal union of his people, and their acquieſcence in his undoubted right, he poſſeſſed every advantage above a raw youth, newly raiſed, by injuſtice and violence, to the government of the moſt intractable and moſt turbulent ſubjects in Europe. But there immediately occurred an incident

which required that Edward ſhould either openly declare his pretenſions, or for ever renounce and abjure them. He was ſummoned to do homage for Guienne; Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms; that country was in a very bad ſtate of defence; and the forfeiture of ſo rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate conſequence of his refuſing or declining to perform the duty of a vaſſal. Edward, therefore, thought it prudent to ſubmit to preſent neceſſity: he went over to Amiens: did homage to Philip: and, as there had ariſen ſome controverſy concerning the terms of this ſubmiſſion, he afterwards ſent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France;[d] which was in effect ratifying, and that in the ſtrongeſt terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim indeed was ſo unreaſonable, and ſo thoroughly diſavowed by the whole French nation, that to inſiſt on it was no better than pretending to the violent conqueſt of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it, had it not been for ſome incidents which excited an animoſity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was deſcended from the blood royal of France; was a man of great character and authority; had eſpouſed Philip's ſiſter; and, by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the higheſt figure, and fill the moſt important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had loſt the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a ſentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was ſeduced to attempt recovering poſſeſſion by an action ſo unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery.[e] The detection of this crime covered him with ſhame and confuſion. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but proſecuted him with violence. Robert, incapable of bearing diſgrace, left the kingdom, and hid himſelf in the Low Countries; chaſed from that retreat by the authority of

Philip, he came over to England; in ſpite of the French king's menaces and remonſtrances, he was favourably received by Edward;[c] and was ſoon admitted into the councils, and ſhared the confidence, of that monarch. Abandoning himſelf to all the movements of rage and deſpair, he endeavoured to revive the prepoſſeſſion entertained by Edward in favour of his title to the crown of France, and even flattered him that it was not impoſſible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render his claim effectual. The king was the more diſpoſed to hearken to ſuggeſtions of this nature, becauſe he had, in ſeveral particulars, found reaſon to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne; and becauſe that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and ſupported, at leaſt encouraged, the Scots in their ſtruggles for independence. Thus reſentment gradually filled the breaſts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation propoſed by the pope; who never ceaſed interpoſing his good offices between them. Philip thought that he ſhould be wanting to the firſt principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland: Edward affirmed that he muſt relinquiſh all pretenſions to generoſity if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of ſome preparations for hoſtilities which had been made by his rival, iſſued a ſentence of felony and attainder againſt Robert, and declared that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the ſame ſentence; a menace eaſy to be underſtood: the latter, reſolute not to yield, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany; the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce ſuch a diverſion as might ſave the province of Guienne, which lay ſo much expoſed to the power of Philip.

## PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE.

THE king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and, having engaged him in his intereſts, he employed the good offices and counſels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other ſovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promiſe his concurrence.[g] The archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Faquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the Engliſh alliance.[h] Theſe ſovereign princes could ſupply, either from their own ſtates or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and naught was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the acceſſion of Flanders, which Edward procured by means ſomewhat extraordinary and unuſual.

As the Flemings were the firſt people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had riſen to a degree of opulence unknown elſewhere to thoſe of their ſtation in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, or rather of ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the feudal inſtitutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their ſovereign and their nobility to conform themſelves to the principles of law and civil government, ſo much neglected in every other country; it was impoſſible for them to confine themſelves within the proper bounds in their oppoſition and reſentment againſt any inſtance of tyranny. They had riſen in tumults; had inſulted the nobles; had chaſed their earl into France; and, delivering them-

ſelves over to the guidance of a ſeditious leader, had been guilty of all that inſolence and diſorder, to which the thoughtleſs and enraged populace are ſo much inclined, wherever they are unfortunate enough to be their own maſters.[i]

Their preſent leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. He placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at pleaſure: he was accompanied by a guard; who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man that happened to fall under his diſpleaſure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies; and it was immediate death to give him the ſmalleſt umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country lived in continual terror from his violence: he ſeized the eſtates of all thoſe whom he had either baniſhed or murdered; and, beſtowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own uſe.[k] Such were the firſt effects that Europe ſaw of popular violence; after having groaned, during ſo many ages, under monarchical and ariſtocratical tyranny.

James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addreſſed himſelf for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſts; and that prince, the moſt haughty and moſt aſpiring of the age, never courted any ally with ſo much aſſiduity and ſo many ſubmiſſions as he employed towards this ſeditious and criminal tradeſman. D'Arteville, proud of theſe advances from the king of England, and ſenſible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connexions with the Engliſh, who furniſhed them the materials of their woollen manufactures, the chief ſource of their opulence, readily embraced the intereſts of Edward, and invited him over into the Low Countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterpriſe, affected to conſult his parliament, aſked their advice, and obtained their conſent.[l] And, the more to

ſtrengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, which might amount to about a hundred thouſand pounds. This commodity was a good inſtrument to employ with the Flemings; and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other neceſſary ſums by loans; by pawning the crown jewels; by confiſcating, or rather robbing at once all the Lombards, who now exerciſed the invidious trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on intereſt;[m] and, being attended by a body of Engliſh forces, and by ſeveral of his nobility, he ſailed over to Flanders.

The German princes, in order to juſtify their unprovoked hoſtilities againſt France, had required the ſanction of ſome legal authority: and Edward, that he might give them ſatisfaction on this head, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him vicar of the empire; an empty title, but which ſeemed to give him a right of commanding the ſervice of the princes of Germany.[n] The Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, pretending like ſcruples with regard to the invaſion of their liege lord, Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, aſſumed, in his commiſſions, the title of king of France; and, in virtue of this right, claimed their aſſiſtance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the uſurper of his kingdom.[o] This ſtep, which he feared would deſtroy all future amity between the kingdoms, and beget endleſs and implacable jealouſies in France, was not taken by him without much reluctance and heſitation; and, not being in itſelf very juſtifiable, it has in the iſſue been attended with many miſeries to both kingdoms. From this period we may date the commencement of that great animoſity which the Engliſh nation have ever ſince born to the French, which has ſo viſible an influence on all future tranſactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the ſpring of many raſh and precipitate reſolutions among them. In all the preceding reigns ſince

the conqueſt, the hoſtilities between the two crowns had been only caſual and temporary; and, as they had never been attended with any bloody or dangerous event, the traces of them were eaſily obliterated by the firſt treaty of pacification. The Engliſh nobility and gentry valued themſelves on their French or Norman extraction; they affected to employ the language of that country in all public tranſactions, and even in familiar converſation; and, both the Engliſh court and camp being always full of nobles, who came from different provinces of France, the two people were, during ſome centuries, more intermingled together than any two diſtinct nations whom we meet with in hiſtory. But the fatal pretenſions of Edward III diſſolved all theſe connexions, and left the ſeeds of great animoſity in both countries, eſpecially among the Engliſh. For it is remarkable that this latter nation, though they were commonly the aggreſſors, and by their ſucceſs and ſituation were enabled to commit the moſt cruel injuries on the other, have always retained a ſtronger tincture of national antipathy; nor is their hatred retaliated on them to an equal degree by the French. That country lies in the middle of Europe; has been ſucceſſively engaged in hoſtilities with all its neighbours; the popular prejudices have been diverted into many channels; and, among a people of ſofter manners, they never roſe to a great height againſt any particular nation.

Philip made great preparations againſt the attack from the Engliſh, and ſuch as ſeemed more than ſufficient to ſecure him from the danger. Beſides the concurrence of all the nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were both more cordial and more powerful than thoſe which were formed by his antagoniſt. The pope, who at this time lived at Avignon, was dependent on France; and, being diſguſted at the connexions between Edward and Lewis of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicated, he embraced with zeal

and ſincerity the cauſe of the French monarch. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the count of Bar, were in the ſame intereſts; and, on the ſide of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. The allies of Edward were in themſelves weaker; and, having no object but his money, which began to be exhauſted, they were ſlow in their motions and irreſolute in their meaſures. The duke of Brabant, the moſt powerful among them, ſeemed even inclined to withdraw himſelf wholly from the alliance; and the king was neceſſitated both to give the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract his ſon Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could bring him to fulfil his engagements. The ſummer was waſted in conferences and negociations before Edward could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his meaſures, to pretend that the firſt attack ſhould be made upon Cambray, a city of the empire which had been garriſoned by Philip.[p] But, finding upon trial the difficulty of the enterpriſe, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and he there ſaw, by a ſenſible proof, the vanity of his expectations. The count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault his brother-in-law, (for the old count was dead) refuſed to commence hoſtilities againſt their liege lord, and retired with their troops.[q] So little account did they make of Edward's pretenſions to the crown of France!

## WAR WITH FRANCE. 1339.

THE king, however, entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfoſſe, near Capelle, with an army of near fifty thouſand men, compoſed almoſt entirely of foreigners: Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, com-

poſed chiefly of native ſubjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would enſue. But the Engliſh monarch was averſe to engage againſt ſo great a ſuperiority: the French thought it ſufficient if he eluded the attacks of his enemy without running any unneceſſary hazard. The two armies faced each other for ſome days; mutual defiances were ſent; and Edward at laſt retired into Flanders, and diſbanded his army.[r]

Such was the fruitleſs and almoſt ridiculous concluſion of Edward's mighty preparations; and, as his meaſures were the moſt prudent that could be embraced in his ſituation, he might learn from experience in what a hopeleſs enterpriſe he was engaged. His expenſes, though they had led to no end, had been conſuming and deſtructive: he had contracted near three hundred thouſand pounds of debt;[s] he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pawned every thing of value which belonged either to himſelf or his queen; he was obliged, in ſome meaſure, even to pawn himſelf to his creditors, by not ſailing to England till he obtained their permiſſion, and by promiſing, on his word of honour, to return in perſon if he did not remit their money.

But he was a prince of too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking; and he was anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful and more gallant enterpriſes. For this purpoſe he had, during the courſe of the campaign, ſent orders to ſummon a parliament by his ſon Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand ſome ſupply in his urgent neceſſities. The barons ſeemed inclined to grant his requeſt: but the knights, who often at this time acted as a ſeparate body from the burgeſſes, made ſome ſcruple of taxing the conſtituents without their conſent; and they deſired the guardian to ſummon a new parliament, which might be properly empowered for that purpoſe. The ſituation

of the king and parliament was, for the time, nearly ſimilar to that which they conſtantly fell into about the beginning of the laſt century; and ſimilar conſequences began viſibly to appear. The king, ſenſible of the frequent demands which he ſhould be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to enſure to his friends a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, and at his inſtigation the ſheriffs and other placemen had made intereſt to be elected into that aſſembly; an abuſe which the knights deſired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of ſummons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had profeſſedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a conſiderable retrenchment of the royal prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knighting the king's eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter. The new parliament called by the guardian retained the ſame free ſpirit; and, though they offered a large ſupply of thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, no buſineſs was concluded, becauſe the conditions which they annexed appeared too high to be compenſated by a temporary conceſſion. But, when Edward himſelf came over to England, he ſummoned another parliament; and he had the intereſt to procure a ſupply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and treſpaſſes, and a remedy for ſome abuſes in the execution of common law, were the chief conditions inſiſted on: and the king, in return for his conceſſions on theſe heads, obtained from the barons and knights an unuſual grant, for two years, of the ninth ſheaf, lamb, and fleece, on their eſtates; and from the burgeſſes a ninth of their moveables at their true value. The whole parliament alſo granted a duty of forty ſhillings on each ſack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool-fells, and on each laſt of leather, for the ſame term of years; but, dread-

ing the arbitrary ſpirit of the crown, they expreſsly declared that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent. Being ſoon after ſenſible that this ſupply, though conſiderable and very unuſual in that age, would come in ſlowly, and would not anſwer the king's urgent neceſſities, proceeding both from his debts and his preparations for war, they agreed that twenty thouſand ſacks of wool ſhould immediately be granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninths which were afterwards to be levied.

But there appeared at this time another jealouſy in the parliament, which was very reaſonable, and was founded on a ſentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than ſupport the king in all thoſe ambitious projects, ſo little likely to prove ſucceſsful, and ſo dangerous to the nation if they did. Edward, who before the commencement of the former campaign had in ſeveral commiſſions aſſumed the title of king of France, now more openly in all public deeds gave himſelf that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with thoſe of England in his ſeals and enſigns. The parliament thought proper to obviate the conſequences of this meaſure, and to declare that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms muſt for ever remain diſtinct and independent.[t] They undoubtedly foreſaw that France, if ſubdued, would in the end prove the ſeat of government; and they deemed this previous proteſtation neceſſary, in order to prevent their becoming a province to that monarchy. A frail ſecurity, if the event had really taken place!

## NAVAL VICTORY. 1340.

As Philip was appriſed, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he muſt ex-

pect another invaſion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of four hundred veſſels, manned with forty thouſand men; and he ſtationed them off Sluiſe, with a view of intercepting the king in his paſſage. The Engliſh navy was much inferior in number, conſiſting only of two hundred and forty ſail: but, whether it were by the ſuperior abilities of Edward, or the greater dexterity of his ſeamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the ſun in their backs; and with theſe advantages, on the thirteenth of June, began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody. The Engliſh archers, whoſe force and addreſs were now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and, when the ſhips grappled together, and the conteſt became more ſteady and furious, the example of the king, and of ſo many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to ſuch a degree the ſeamen and ſoldiery, that they maintained every where a ſuperiority over the enemy. The French alſo had been guilty of ſome imprudence in taking their ſtation ſo near the coaſt of Flanders, and chooſing that place for the ſcene of action. The Flemings, deſcrying the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the Engliſh; which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken; thirty thouſand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable, compared to the greatneſs and importance of the victory.[n] None of Philip's courtiers, it is ſaid, dared to inform him of the event; till his fool or jeſter gave him a hint, by which he diſcovered the loſs that he had ſuſtained.

The luſtre of this great ſucceſs increaſed the king's authority among his allies, who aſſembled their forces with expedition, and joined the Engliſh army. Edward marched to the frontiers

of France, at the head of above one hundred thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of foreigners; a more numerous army than either before or ſince has ever been commanded by any king of England.[x] At the ſame time the Flemings, to the number of fifty thouſand men, marched out under the command of Robert of Artois, and laid ſiege to St. Omer; but this tumultuary army, compoſed entirely of tradeſmen unexperienced in war, was routed by a ſally of the garriſon, and, notwithſtanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into ſuch a panic, that they were inſtantly diſperſed, and never more appeared in the field. The enterpriſes of Edward, though not attended with ſo inglorious an iſſue, proved equally vain and fruitleſs. The king of France had aſſembled an army more numerous than the Engliſh; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by three monarchs, the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre:[y] yet he ſtill adhered to the prudent reſolution of putting nothing to hazard; and, after throwing ſtrong garriſons into all the frontier towns, he retired backwards, perſuaded that the enemy, having waſted their force in ſome tedious and unſucceſsful enterpriſe, would afford him an eaſy victory.

Tournay was at that time one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Flanders, containing above ſixty thouſand inhabitants of all ages, who were affectionate to the French government; and, as the ſecret of Edward's deſigns had not been ſtrictly kept, Philip learned that the Engliſh, in order to gratify their Flemiſh allies, had intended to open the campaign with the ſiege of this place: he took care, therefore, to ſupply it with a garriſon of fourteen thouſand men, commanded by the braveſt nobility of France; and he reaſonably expected that theſe forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city againſt all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he

commenced the ſiege, about the end of July, found every where an obſtinate reſiſtance. The valour of one ſide was encountered with equal valour by the other; every aſſault was repulſed, and proved unſucceſsful; and the king was at laſt obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garriſon and citizens, which had enabled them to defend themſelves againſt his attacks, would but expoſe them to be the more eaſily reduced by famine. The count of Eu, who commanded in Tournay, as ſoon as he perceived that the Engliſh had formed this plan of operations, endeavoured to ſave his proviſions, by expelling all the uſeleſs mouths; and the duke of Brabant, who wiſhed no ſucceſs to Edward's enterpriſes, gave every one a free paſſage through his quarters.

After the ſiege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to diſtreſs; and Philip, recalling all his ſcattered garriſons, advanced towards the Engliſh camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of ſtill avoiding any deciſive action, but of ſeeking ſome opportunity for throwing relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the ſmall progreſs he had hitherto made, and with the diſagreeable proſpect that lay before him, ſent Philip a defiance by a herald; and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by ſingle combat, or by an action of a hundred againſt a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied that, Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having ſolemnly acknowledged him for his ſuperior, it by no means became him to ſend a defiance to his liege lord and ſovereign: that he was confident, notwithſtanding all Edward's preparations, and his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, he himſelf ſhould ſoon be able to chaſe him from the frontiers of France: that, as the hoſtilities from England had prevented

him from executing his purpoſed cruſade againſt the infidels, he truſted in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious intentions, and puniſh the aggreſſor, whoſe ill grounded claims had rendered them abortive: that Edward propoſed a duel on very unequal terms, and offered to hazard only his own perſon againſt both the kingdom of France and the perſon of the king; but that, if he would increaſe the ſtake, and put alſo the kingdom of England on the iſſue of the duel, he would, notwithſtanding that the terms would ſtill be unequal, very willingly accept of the challenge.' It was eaſy to ſee that theſe mutual bravadoes were intended only to dazzle the populace, and that the two kings were too wiſe to think of executing their pretended purpoſe.

While the French and Engliſh armies lay in this ſituation, and a general action was every day expected, Jane, counteſs dowager of Hainault, interpoſed with her good offices, and endeavoured to conciliate peace between the contending monarchs, and to prevent any farther effuſion of blood. This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip; and, though ſhe had taken the vows in a convent, and had renounced the world, ſhe left her retreat on this occaſion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay thoſe animoſities which had taken place between perſons ſo nearly related to her and to each other. As Philip had no material claims on his antagoniſt, ſhe found that he hearkened willingly to the propoſals; and even the haughty and ambitious Edward, convinced of his fruitleſs attempt, was not averſe to her negociation. He was ſenſible, from experience, that he had engaged in an enterpriſe which far exceeded his force; and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over that of a ſuperior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He diſcovered that all the allies whom he could gain by negociation were at bottom averſe to

his enterprife; and, though they might ſecond it to a certain length, would immediately detach themſelves, and oppoſe its final accompliſhment, if ever they could be brought to think that there was ſeriouſly any danger of it. He even ſaw that their chief purpoſe was to obtain money from him; and, as his ſupplies from England came in very ſlowly, and had much diſappointed his expectations, he perceived their growing indifference in his cauſe, and their deſire of embracing all plauſible terms of accommodation. Convinced at laſt that an undertaking muſt be imprudent which could only be ſupported by means ſo unequal to the end, he concluded a truce, which left both parties in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions, and ſtopped all farther hoſtilities on the ſide of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland, till midſummer next.[b] A negociation was ſoon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; and the truce was attempted to be converted into a ſolid peace. Edward here required that Philip ſhould free Guienne from all claims of ſuperiority, and entirely withdraw his protection from Scotland; but, as he ſeemed not anywiſe entitled to make ſuch high demands, either from his paſt ſucceſſes or future proſpects, they were totally rejected by Philip, who agreed only to a prolongation of the truce.

The king of France ſoon after detached the emperor Lewis from the alliance of England, and engaged him to revoke the title of Imperial Vicar,[c] which he had conferred on Edward. The king's other allies on the frontiers of France, diſappointed in their hopes, gradually withdrew from the confederacy. And Edward himſelf, haraſſed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his eſcape by ſtealth into England.

## DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES.

THE unuſual tax of a ninth ſheaf, lamb, and fleece, impoſed by parliament, together with the great want of money, and ſtill more of credit, in England, had rendered the remittances to Flanders extremely backward; nor could it be expected that any expeditious method of collecting an impoſition, which was ſo new in itſelf, and which yielded only a gradual produce, could poſſibly be contrived by the king or his miniſters. And, though the parliament, foreſeeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a preſent reſource, twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, (the only Engliſh goods that bore a ſure price in foreign markets, and were the next to ready money) it was impoſſible but the getting poſſeſſion of ſuch a bulky commodity, the gathering of it from different parts of the kingdom, and the diſpoſing of it abroad, muſt take up more time than the urgency of the king's affairs would permit, and muſt occaſion all the diſappointments complained of during the courſe of the campaign. But, though nothing had happened which Edward might not reaſonably have foreſeen, he was ſo irritated with the unfortunate iſſue of his military operations, and ſo much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he was determined to throw the blame ſomewhere off himſelf; and he came in very bad humour into England. He diſcovered his peeviſh diſpoſition by the firſt act which he performed after his arrival. As he landed unexpectedly, he found the tower negligently guarded; and he immediately committed to priſon the conſtable, and all others who had the charge of that fortreſs, and he treated them with unuſual rigour.[4] His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the ſheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the undertakers of all kinds; and, beſides diſmiſſing all of them from their employments, he appointed

commiſſioners to inquire into their conduct; and theſe men, in order to gratify the king's humour, were ſure not to find any perſon innocent who came before them.' Sir John St. Paul keeper of the privy ſeal, ſir John Stonore chief juſtice, Andrew Aubrey mayor of London, were diſplaced and impriſoned; as were alſo the biſhop of Chicheſter chancellor, and the biſhop of Litchfield treaſurer. Stratford archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new taxes had been chiefly intruſted, fell likewiſe under the king's diſpleaſure; but, being abſent at the time of Edward's arrival, he eſcaped feeling the immenſe effects of it.

There were ſtrong reaſons which might diſcourage the kings of England, in thoſe ages, from beſtowing the chief offices of the crown on prelates and other eccleſiaſtical perſons. Theſe men had ſo intrenched themſelves in privileges and immunities, and ſo openly challenged an exemption from all ſecular juriſdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malverſation in office; and, as even treaſon itſelf was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a ſufficient reaſon for deprivation or other ſpiritual cenſures, that order of men had enſured to themſelves an almoſt total impunity, and were not bound by any political law or ſtatute. But, on the other hand, there were many peculiar cauſes which favoured their promotion. Beſides that they poſſeſſed almoſt all the learning of the age, and were beſt qualified for civil employments, the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greateſt barons, and gave weight, by their perſonal authority, to the powers intruſted with them; while at the ſame time they did not endanger the crown by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were reſtrained, by the decency of their character, from that open rapine and violence ſo often practiſed by the nobles. Theſe motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predeceſ-

ſors, to intruſt the chief departments of government in the hands of eccleſiaſtics, at the hazard of ſeeing them diſown his authority as ſoon as it was turned againſt them.

This was the caſe with archbiſhop Stratford. That prelate, informed of Edward's indignation againſt him, prepared himſelf for the ſtorm; and, not content with ſtanding upon the defenſive, he reſolved, by beginning the attack, to ſhew the king that he knew the privileges of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He iſſued a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who on any pretext exerciſed violence on the perſon or goods of clergymen; who infringed thoſe privileges ſecured by the Great Charter, and by eccleſiaſtical canons; or who accuſed a prelate of treaſon, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's diſpleaſure.[f] Even Edward had reaſon to think himſelf ſtruck at by this ſentence; both on account of the impriſonment of the two biſhops and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his ſeizing their lands and moveables, that he might make them anſwerable for any balance which remained in their hands. The clergy, with the primate at their head, were now formed into a regular combination againſt the king; and many calumnies were ſpread againſt him, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of his people. It was pretended that he meant to recall the general pardon, and the remiſſion which he had granted of old debts, and to impoſe new and arbitrary taxes without conſent of parliament. The archbiſhop went ſo far, in a letter to the king himſelf, as to tell him that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apoſtolic dignity, and the royal ſubordinate authority; that of theſe two powers the clerical was evidently the ſupreme, ſince the prieſts were to anſwer at the tribunal of the divine judgment for the conduct of kings themſelves; that the clergy were

the ſpiritual fathers of all the faithful, and amongſt others of kings and princes, and were entitled, by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to cenſure their tranſgreſſions; and that prelates had heretofore cited emperors before their tribunal, had ſitten in judgment on their life and behaviour, and had anathematized them for their obſtinate offences.[g] Theſe topics were not well calculated to appeaſe Edward's indignation; and when he called a parliament he ſent not to the primate, as to the other peers, a ſummons to attend it. Stratford was not diſcouraged at this mark of neglect or anger; he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the croſier in his hand, and accompanied by a pompous train of prieſts and prelates; and he required admittance as the firſt and higheſt peer in the realm. During two days the king rejected his application; but, ſenſible either that this affair might be attended with dangerous conſequences, or that in his impatience he had groundleſsly accuſed the primate of malverſation in his office, which ſeems really to have been the caſe, he at laſt permitted him to take his ſeat, and was reconciled to him.[h]

Edward now found himſelf in a bad ſituation, both with his own people and with foreign ſtates; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himſelf from ſuch multiplied difficulties and embarraſſments. His unjuſt and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with theſe two kingdoms, his neareſt neighbours: he had loſt almoſt all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply involved in debts, for which he owed a conſuming intereſt: his military operations had vaniſhed into ſmoke; and, except his naval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown, either to himſelf or to the nation: the animoſity between him and the clergy was open and declared: the people were diſcontented on account of many arbitrary mea-

ſures in which he had been engaged: and, what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his preſent neceſſities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themſelves independence and authority. But the aſpiring genius of Edward, which had ſo far tranſported him beyond the bounds of diſcretion, proved at laſt ſufficient to reinſtate him in his former authority, and, finally, to render his reign the moſt triumphant that is to be met with in Engliſh ſtory; though for the preſent he was obliged, with ſome loſs of honour, to yield to the current which bore ſo ſtrongly againſt him.

The parliament framed an act which was likely to produce conſiderable innovations in the government. They premiſed that, whereas the Great Charter had, to the manifeſt peril and ſlander of the king and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the impriſonment of free men, and the ſeizure of their goods, without ſuit, indictment, or trial, it was neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the ſteward and chamberlain of the houſehold, the keeper of the privy ſeal, the controller and treaſurer of the wardrobe, and thoſe who were intruſted with the education of the young prince, to ſwear to the regular obſervance of it. They alſo remarked that the peers of the realm had formerly been arreſted and impriſoned, and diſpoſſeſſed of their temporalities and lands, and even ſome of them put to death, without judgment or trial; and they, therefore, enacted that ſuch violences ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no peer be puniſhed but by the award of his peers in parliament. They required that, whenever any of the great offices above mentioned became vacant, the king ſhould fill it by the advice of his council, and the conſent of ſuch barons as ſhould at that time be found to reſide in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted

that, on the third day of every ſeſſion, the king ſhould reſume into his own hand all theſe offices, except thoſe of juſtices of the two benches, and the barons of exchequer; that the miniſters ſhould for the time be reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould in that condition anſwer before parliament to any accuſation brought againſt them; and that, if they were found anywiſe guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their offices, and more able perſons be ſubſtituted in their place.[i] By theſe laſt regulations the barons approached as near as they durſt to thoſe reſtrictions which had formerly been impoſed on Henry III and Edward II, and which, from the dangerous conſequences attending them, had become ſo generally odious, that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding them, or the aſſent of the preſent king in granting them.

In return for theſe important conceſſions, the parliament offered the king a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool; and his wants were ſo urgent, from the clamours of his creditors and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the ſupply on theſe hard conditions. He ratified this ſtatute in full parliament; but he ſecretly entered a proteſt of ſuch a nature as was ſufficient, one ſhould imagine, to deſtroy all future truſt and confidence with his people: he declared that, as ſoon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him.[k] Accordingly, he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the parliamentary ſupply than he iſſued an edict, which contains many extraordinary poſitions and pretenſions. He firſt aſſerts that that ſtatute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legiſlative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms that, as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had ſworn to defend, he had only diſſembled when he ſeemed to ratify it,

but that he had never in his own breaſt given his aſſent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the parliament lay under force; but only that ſome inconvenience would have enſued, had he not ſeemingly affixed his ſanction to that pretended ſtatute. He, therefore, with the advice of his council, and of ſome earls and barons, abrogates and annuls it; and, though he profeſſes himſelf willing and determined to obſerve ſuch articles of it as were formerly law, he declares it to have thenceforth no force or authority.[l] The parliaments that were afterwards aſſembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, which, by a parity of reaſon, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and, during the courſe of two years, Edward had ſo far re-eſtabliſhed his influence, and freed himſelf from his preſent neceſſities, that he then obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious ſtatute.[m] This tranſaction certainly contains remarkable circumſtances, which diſcover the manners and ſentiments of the age, and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from ſuch rude hands, when employed in legiſlation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and a conſtitution.

But, though Edward had happily recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the events of the French war, he had undergone ſo many mortifications from that attempt, and ſaw ſo little proſpect of ſucceſs, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promiſing views, and given his enterpriſing genius a full opportunity of diſplaying itſelf.

## AFFAIRS OF BRITTANY. 1341.

JOHN III, duke of Brittany, had, during ſome years, found himſelf declining through age and infirmities; and, having no iſſue,

he was ſolicitous to prevent thoſe diſorders to which, on the event of his demiſe, a diſputed ſucceſſion might expoſe his ſubjects. His younger brother, the count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir; and, as his family had inherited the duchy by a female ſucceſſion, he thought her title preferable to that of the count of Mountfort, who, being his brother by a ſecond marriage, was the male heir of that principality.[n] He accordingly purpoſed to beſtow his niece in marriage on ſome perſon who might be able to defend her rights; and he caſt his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France by his mother Margaret of Valois, ſiſter to that monarch. But, as he both loved his ſubjects and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important ſtep without their approbation; and, having aſſembled the ſtates of Brittany, he repreſented to them the advantages of that alliance, and the proſpect which it gave of an entire ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice; the marriage was concluded; all his vaſſals, and among the reſt the count of Mountfort, ſwore fealty to Charles and to his conſort as to their future ſovereigns; and every danger of civil commotions ſeemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy againſt them.

But on the death of this good prince the ambition of the count of Mountfort broke through all theſe regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Brittany, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was ſoliciting at the court of France the inveſtiture of the duchy, Mountfort was active in acquiring immediate poſſeſſion of it: and by force or intrigue he made himſelf maſter of Rennes, Nantz, Breſt, Hennebonne, and all the moſt important fortreſſes; and engaged many conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority.[o] Senſible that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to

England on pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there, offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of their mutual pretenſions. Edward ſaw immediately the advantages attending this treaty. Mountfort, an active and valiant prince, cloſely united to him by intereſt, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the ſide of Germany and the Low Countries; who had no ſincere attachment to his cauſe, and whoſe progreſs was alſo obſtructed by thoſe numerous fortifications which had been raiſed on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforcing theſe conſiderations; the ambitious ſpirit of Edward was little diſpoſed to ſit down under thoſe repulſes which he had received, and which he thought had ſo much impaired his reputation; and it required a very ſhort negociation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female ſucceſſion were directly oppoſite, were intimately connected by their immediate intereſts.

As this treaty was ſtill a ſecret, Mountfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cauſe before the court of peers: but, obſerving Philip and his judges to be prepoſſeſſed againſt his title, and dreading their intentions of arreſting him till he ſhould reſtore what he had ſeized by violence, he ſuddenly made his eſcape; and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois.[1] Philip ſent his eldeſt ſon, the duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the aſſiſtance of the latter; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field againſt his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was beſieged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Mountfort fell into the hands of his enemies, was

conducted as a priſoner to Paris, and was ſhut up in the tower of the Louvre.[r]

This event ſeemed to put an end to the pretenſions of the count of Mountfort; but his affairs were immediately retrieved by an unexpected incident, which inſpired new life and vigour into his party. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Mountfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of the age, was rouſed, by the captivity of her huſband, from thoſe domeſtic cares to which ſhe had hitherto limited her genius; and ſhe courageouſly undertook to ſupport the falling fortunes of her family. No ſooner did ſhe receive the fatal intelligence, than ſhe aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided; and, carrying her infant ſon in her arms, deplored to them the calamity of their ſovereign. She recommended to their care the illuſtrious orphan, the ſole male remaining of their ancient princes; who had governed them with ſuch indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had ever profeſſed the moſt zealous attachment. She declared herſelf willing to run all hazards with them in ſo juſt a cauſe; diſcovered the reſources which ſtill remained in the alliance of England; and entreated them to make one effort againſt an uſurper, who, being impoſed on them by the arms of France, would in return make a ſacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Brittany. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance and inſpirited by the noble conduct of the princeſs, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family; all the other fortreſſes of Brittany embraced the ſame reſolution; the counteſs went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and, after ſhe had put the whole province in a good poſture, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebonne, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours which Edward had promiſed her.

Meanwhile ſhe ſent over her ſon to England, that ſhe might both put him in a place of ſafety, and engage the king more ſtrongly, by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſts of her family.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himſelf maſter of ſo important a fortreſs as Hennebonne, and ſtill more to take the counteſs priſoner, from whoſe vigour and capacity all the difficulties to his ſucceſſion in Brittany now proceeded, ſat down before the place with a great army, compoſed of French, Spaniards, Genoeſe, and ſome Bretons; and he conducted the attack with indefatigable induſtry.[s] The defence was no leſs vigorous; the beſiegers were repulſed in every aſſault; frequent ſallies were made with ſucceſs by the garriſon; and, the counteſs herſelf being the moſt forward in all military operations, every one was aſhamed not to exert himſelf to the utmoſt in this deſperate ſituation. One day ſhe perceived that the beſiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a diſtant quarter of their camp; and ſhe immediately ſallied forth at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confuſion, did great execution upon them, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines: but, when ſhe was preparing to return, ſhe found that ſhe was intercepted, and that a conſiderable body of the enemy had thrown themſelves between her and the gates. She inſtantly took her reſolution. She ordered her men to diſband, and to make the beſt of their way by flight to Breſt; ſhe met them at the appointed place of rendezvous; collected another body of five hundred horſe; returned to Hennebonne; broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp; and was received with ſhouts and acclamations by the garriſon, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by ſo rare an example of female valour, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity.

The reiterated attacks, however, of the beſiegers had at length made ſeveral breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general aſſault, which was every hour expected, would overpower the garriſon, diminiſhed in numbers, and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue. It became neceſſary to treat of a capitulation; and the biſhop of Leon was already engaged, for that purpoſe, in a conference with Charles of Blois, when the counteſs, who had mounted to a high tower, and was looking towards the ſea with great impatience, deſcried ſome ſails at a diſtance. She immediately exclaimed, 'Behold the ſuccours! the Engliſh ſuccours!' No capitulation!' This fleet had on board a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and ſix thouſand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of ſir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt captains of England; and, having inſpired freſh courage into the garriſon, immediately ſallied forth, beat the beſiegers from all their poſts, and obliged them to decamp.

But, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the counteſs of Mountfort found that her party, overpowered by numbers, was declining in every quarter; and ſhe went over to ſolicit more effectual ſuccours from the king of England. Edward granted her a conſiderable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ſhips, and ſailed to Brittany. He was met in his paſſage by the enemy; an action enſued, where the counteſs behaved with her wonted valour, and charged the enemy ſword in hand; but the hoſtile fleets, after a ſharp action, were ſeparated by a ſtorm, and the Engliſh arrived ſafely in Brittany. The firſt exploit of Robert was the taking of Vannes, which he maſtered by conduct and addreſs;[n] but he ſurvived a very little time this proſperity. The Breton noblemen of the party of Charles aſſembled ſecretly in arms, attacked Vannes of

a ſudden, and carried the place; chiefly by reaſon of a wound received by Robert, of which he ſoon after died at ſea on his return to England.[w]

## WAR RENEWED WITH FRANCE. 1342.

After the death of this unfortunate prince, the chief author of all the calamities with which his country was overwhelmed for more than a century, Edward undertook in perſon the defence of the counteſs of Mountfort; and, as the laſt truce with France was now expired, the war, which the Engliſh and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the ſtandard of the two monarchs. The king landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thouſand men; and, being maſter of the field, he endeavoured to give a luſtre to his arms by commencing at once three important ſieges, that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But, by undertaking too much, he failed of ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes. Even the ſiege of Vannes, which Edward in perſon conducted with vigour,[x] advanced but ſlowly; and the French had all the leiſure requiſite for making preparations againſt him. The duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of Philip, appeared in Brittany, at the head of an army of thirty thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry; and Edward was now obliged to draw together all his forces, and to intrench himſelf ſtrongly before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy ſoon after arrived, and in a manner inveſted the beſiegers. The garriſon and the French camp were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions; while the Engliſh, who durſt not make any attempt upon the place in the preſence of a ſuperior army, drew all their ſubſiſtence from England, expoſed to the hazards of the ſea, and ſometimes to thoſe which aroſe from the fleet of the enemy. In this danger-

ous ſituation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Paleſtine and Freſcati, who endeavoured to negociate, if not a peace, at leaſt a truce, between the two kingdoms. A treaty was concluded for a ceſſation of arms during three years;[y] and Edward had the abilities, notwithſtanding his preſent dangerous ſituation, to procure to himſelf very equal and honourable terms. It was agreed that Vannes ſhould be ſequeſtered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be diſpoſed of afterwards as they pleaſed; and, though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagoniſts, he ſaved himſelf, by this device, from the diſhonour of having undertaken a fruitleſs enterpriſe. It was alſo ſtipulated that all priſoners ſhould be releaſed; that the places in Brittany ſhould remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors; and that the allies on both ſides[z] ſhould be comprehended in the truce. Edward, ſoon after concluding this treaty, embarked with his army for England.

The truce, though calculated for a long time, was of very ſhort duration; and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. Of courſe the hiſtorians of the two countries differ in their account of the matter. It ſeems probable, however, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in conſenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himſelf from a perilous ſituation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careleſs in obſerving it. In all the memorials which remain on this ſubject he complains chiefly of the puniſhment inflicted on Oliver de Cliſſon, John de Montauban, and other Breton noblemen, who, he ſays, were partiſans of the family of Mountfort, and conſequently under the protection of England.[a] But it appears that, at the concluſion of the truce, theſe noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cauſe of Charles of Blois;[b] and, if they

had entered into any ſecret correſpondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were juſtly puniſhable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith; nor had Edward any ground of complaint againſt France for ſuch ſeverities. But, when he laid theſe pretended injuries before the parliament, whom he affected to conſult on all occaſions, that aſſembly entered into the quarrel, adviſed the king not to be amuſed by a fraudulent truce, and granted him ſupplies for the renewal of the war. The counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, and the boroughs with a tenth. The clergy conſented to give a tenth for three years.

Theſe ſupplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations; and he ſent his couſin, Henry earl of Derby, ſon of the earl of Lancaſter, into Guienne, for the defence of that province.[c] This prince, the moſt accompliſhed in the Engliſh court, poſſeſſed to a high degree the virtues of juſtice and humanity, as well as thoſe of valour and conduct;[d] and, not content with protecting and cheriſhing the province committed to his care, he made a ſucceſsful invaſion on the enemy. He attacked the count of Liſle, the French general, at Bergerac, beat him from his intrenchments, and took the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord; and continually advanced in his conqueſts, till the count of Liſle, having collected an army of ten or twelve thouſand men, ſat down before Auberoche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. The earl of Derby came upon him by ſurpriſe, with only a thouſand cavalry, threw the French into diſorder, puſhed his advantages, and obtained a complete victory. Liſle himſelf, with many conſiderable nobles, was taken priſoner.[e] After this important ſucceſs, Derby made a rapid progreſs in ſubduing the French provinces. He took Monſegur, Monſepat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortreſs of Damaſſen. Aiguillon, a fortreſs

deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege. The only place where he met with conſiderable reſiſtance was Reole, which, however, was at laſt reduced, after a ſiege of above nine weeks.[f] He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raiſe the ſiege than waſte his time before a place of ſmall importance.[g]

The reaſon why Derby was permitted to make, without oppoſition, ſuch progreſs on the ſide of Guienne, was the difficulties under which the French finances then laboured, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impoſitions, particularly the duty on ſalt, to the great diſcontent, and almoſt mutiny, of his ſubjects. But, after the court of France was ſupplied with money, great preparations were made; and the duke of Normandy, attended by the duke of Burgundy and other great nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the Engliſh could not think of reſiſting in the open field. The earl of Derby ſtood on the defenſive, and allowed the French to carry on, at leiſure, the ſiege of Angouleme, which was their firſt enterpriſe. John lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremities, as obliged him to employ a ſtratagem in order to ſave his garriſon, and to prevent his being reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. He appeared on the walls, and deſired a parley with the duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich that he ſuppoſed he intended to capitulate. 'Not at all,' replied the governor: 'but, as to-morrow is the feaſt of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, ſir, as well as myſelf, bear a great devotion, I deſire a ceſſation of arms for that day.' The propoſal was agreed to; and Norwich, having ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched out next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The beſiegers, imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their

arms; but Norwich ſent a meſſenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himſelf on faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, 'I ſee the governor has outwitted me; but let us be content with gaining the place:' and the Engliſh were allowed to paſs through the camp unmoleſted.[h] After ſome other ſucceſſes, the duke of Normandy laid ſiege to Aiguillon: and, as the natural ſtrength of the fortreſs, together with a brave garriſon under the command of the earl of Pembroke and ſir Walter Manny, rendered it impoſſible to take the place by aſſault, he purpoſed, after making ſeveral fruitleſs attacks,[i] to reduce it by famine; but before he could finiſh this enterpriſe he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greateſt diſaſters that ever befel the French monarchy.[k]

Edward, informed by the earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was expoſed, had prepared a force, with which he intended, in perſon, to bring it relief. He embarked at Southampton on board a fleet of near a thouſand ſail of all dimenſions; and carried with him, beſides all the chief nobility of England, his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary;[l] and the king, in deſpair of arriving in time at Guienne, was at laſt perſuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt to change the deſtination of his enterpriſe. This nobleman was a Norman by birth, had long made a conſiderable figure in the court of France, and was generally eſteemed for his perſonal merit and his valour: but, being diſobliged and perſecuted by Philip, he had fled into England; had recommended himſelf to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men; and had ſucceeded to Robert of Artois in the invidious office of exciting and aſſiſting the king in every enterpriſe againſt his native country. He had long inſiſted that an expedition to Normandy promiſed, in the preſent circumſtances, more favour-

able ſucceſs than one to Guienne; that Edward would find the northern provinces almoſt deſtitute of military force, which had been drawn to the ſouth; that they were full of flouriſhing cities, whoſe plunder would enrich the Engliſh; that their cultivated fields, as yet unſpoiled by war, would ſupply them with plenty of proviſions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in thoſe quarters.[m] Theſe reaſons, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impreſſion, after the diſappointments which he met with in his voyage to Guienne. He ordered his fleet to ſail to Normandy, and ſafely diſembarked his army at la Hogue.

## INVASION OF FRANCE. 1346.

THIS army, which during the courſe of the enſuing campaign was crowned with the moſt ſplendid ſucceſs, conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, ten thouſand Welſh infantry, and ſix thouſand Iriſh. The Welſh and the Iriſh were light diſorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a purſuit, or ſcouring the country, than for any ſtable action. The bow was always eſteemed a frivolous weapon where true military diſcipline was known, and regular bodies of well armed foot maintained. The only ſolid force in this army were the men at arms; and even theſe, being cavalry, were on that account much inferior, in the ſhock of battle, to good infantry. And, as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of thoſe ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itſelf, the ſole object of general attention.

The king created the earl of Arundel conſtable of his army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt mareſchals. He beſtowed the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales and

ſeveral of the young nobility immediately upon his landing. After deſtroying all the ſhips in la Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he ſpread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded licenſe of burning, ſpoiling, and plundering, every place of which they became maſters. The looſe diſcipline then prevalent could not be much hurt by theſe diſorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any ſurpriſe, by giving orders to his troops, however they might diſperſe themſelves in the day-time, always to quarter themſelves at night near the main body. In this manner Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were pillaged without reſiſtance; and an univerſal conſternation was ſpread over the province."

The intelligence of this unexpected invaſion ſoon reached Paris, and threw Philip into great perplexity. He iſſued orders, however, for levying forces in all quarters, and diſpatched the count of Eu, conſtable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caen, a populous and commercial but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh army. The temptation of ſo rich a prize ſoon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and by the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But their courage failed them on the firſt ſhock; they fled with precipitation; the counts of Eu and Tancarville were taken priſoners; the victors entered the city along with the vanquiſhed; and a furious maſſacre commenced, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. The citizens, in deſpair, barricadoed their houſes, and aſſaulted the Engliſh with ſtones, bricks, and every miſſile weapon; the Engliſh made way by fire to the deſtruction of the citizens; till Edward, anxious to ſave both his ſpoil and his ſoldiers, ſtopped the maſſacre, and, having obliged the inha-

bitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops licenſe to begin a more regular and leſs hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days: the king reſerved for his own ſhare the jewels, plate, ſilks, fine cloth, and fine linen; and he beſtowed all the remainder of the ſpoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ſhips, and ſent over to England; together with three hundred of the richeſt citizens of Caen, whoſe ranſom was an additional profit, which he expected afterwards to levy.[o] This diſmal ſcene paſſed in the preſence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negociate a peace between the kingdoms.

The king moved next to Rouen, in hopes of treating that city in the ſame manner; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the king of France himſelf was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, deſtroying the whole country, and every town and village which he met with on his road.[p] Some of his light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germans, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and other villages, was reduced to aſhes within ſight of the capital. The Engliſh intended to paſs the river at Poiſſy, but found the French army encamped on the oppoſite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now ſaw that the French meant to encloſe him in their country, in hopes of attacking him with advantage on all ſides; but he ſaved himſelf by a ſtratagem from this perilous ſituation. He gave his army orders to diſlodge, and to advance farther up the Seine; but, immediately returning by the ſame road, he arrived at Poiſſy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with incredible celerity; paſſed over his army; and, having thus diſengaged himſelf

from the enemy, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Harcourt, met with the townſmen of Amiens, who were haſtening to reinforce their king, and defeated them with great ſlaughter.[q] He paſſed by Beauvois, and burned the ſuburbs of that city: but, as he approached the Somme, he found himſelf in the ſame difficulty as before; all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded; an army, under the command of Godemar de Faye, was ſtationed on the oppoſite banks; Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter with an army of an hundred thouſand men; and he was thus expoſed to the danger of being encloſed, and of ſtarving in an enemy's country. In this extremity he publiſhed a reward to any one that ſhould bring him intelligence of a paſſage over the Somme. A peaſant, called Gobin Agace, whoſe name has been preſerved by the ſhare which he had in theſe important tranſactions, was tempted on this occaſion to betray the intereſts of his country; and he informed Edward of a ford below Abbeville which had a ſound bottom, and might be paſſed without difficulty at low water.[r] The king haſtened thither, but found Godemar de Faye on the oppoſite banks. Being urged by neceſſity, he deliberated not a moment; but threw himſelf into the river, ſword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſtance on the plain.[s] The French army under Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the Engliſh were paſſing. So narrow was the eſcape which Edward, by his prudence and celerity, made from this danger! The riſing of the tide prevented the French king from following him over the ford, and obliged that prince to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which ſome time was loſt.

## BATTLE OF CRESSY. AUG. 25, 1346.

It is natural to think that Philip, at the head of ſo vaſt an army, was impatient to take revenge on the Engliſh, and to prevent the diſgrace to which he muſt be expoſed if an inferior enemy ſhould be allowed, after ravaging ſo great a part of his kingdom, to eſcape with impunity. Edward alſo was ſenſible that ſuch muſt be the object of the French monarch; and, as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he ſaw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of expoſing his rear to the inſults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent reſolution; he choſe his ground with advantage, near the village of Creſſy; he diſpoſed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerneſs to engage and to prevent his retreat, after all their paſt diſappointments, would hurry them on to ſome raſh and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle aſcent, and divided them into three lines: the firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales; and, under him, by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Baſſet, Roos, and ſir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the ſecond line: he took to himſelf the command of the third diviſion; by which he purpoſed either to bring ſuccour to the two firſt lines, or to ſecure a retreat in caſe of any misfortune, or to puſh his advantages againſt the enemy. He had likewiſe the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to ſecure himſelf from the numerous bodies of the French who might aſſail him from that quarter; and he placed all his bag-

gage behind him in a wood, which he alſo ſecured by an intrenchment.'

The ſkill and order of this diſpoſition, with the tranquillity in which it was made, ſerved extremely to compoſe the minds of the ſoldiers; and the king, that he might farther inſpirit them, rode through the ranks with ſuch an air of cheerfulneſs and alacrity as conveyed the higheſt confidence into every beholder. He pointed out to them the neceſſity to which they were reduced, and the certain and inevitable deſtruction which awaited them, if in their preſent ſituation, encloſed on all hands in an enemy's country, they truſted to any thing but their own valour, or gave that enemy an opportunity of taking revenge for the many inſults and indignities which they had of late put upon him. He reminded them of the viſible aſcendant which they had hitherto maintained over all the bodies of French troops that had fallen in their way; and aſſured them that the ſuperior numbers of the army, which at preſent hovered over them, gave them not greater force, but was an advantage eaſily compenſated by the order in which he had placed his own army, and the reſolution which he expected from them. He demanded nothing, he ſaid, but that they would imitate his own example, and that of the prince of Wales; and, as the honour, the lives, the liberties, of all were now expoſed to the ſame danger, he was confident that they would make one common effort to extricate themſelves from the preſent difficulties, and that their united courage would give them the victory over all their enemies.

It is related by ſome hiſtorians [a] that Edward, beſides the reſources which he found in his own genius and preſence of mind, employed alſo a new invention againſt the enemy, and placed in his front ſome pieces of artillery; the firſt that had yet been made uſe of on any remarkable occaſion in Europe. This is the

epoch of one of the moſt ſingular diſcoveries that has been made among men; a diſcovery which changed by degrees the whole art of war, and, by conſequence, many circumſtances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts rendered the progreſs of this new invention very ſlow. The artillery firſt framed were ſo clumſy, and of ſuch difficult management, that men were not immediately ſenſible of their uſe and efficacy: and even to the preſent times improvements have been continually making on this furious engine; which, though it ſeemed contrived for the deſtruction of mankind and the overthrow of empires, has in the iſſue rendered battles leſs bloody, and has given greater ſtability to civil ſocieties. Nations by its means have been brought more to a level; conqueſts have become leſs frequent and rapid; ſucceſs in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation, overmatched by its enemies, either yields to their demands, or ſecures itſelf by alliances againſt their violence and invaſion.

The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England;* but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a uſeleſs incumbrance. All his other movements diſcovered the ſame imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counſellor, and truſting to the great ſuperiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the Engliſh; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his ſide was certain and inevitable. He made a haſty march, in ſome confuſion, from Abbeville; but, after he had advanced above two leagues, ſome gentlemen, whom he had ſent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence that they had ſeen the Engliſh drawn up in great order,

and awaiting his arrival. They, therefore, adviſed him to defer the combat till the enſuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be diſpoſed into better order than their preſent hurry had permitted them to obſerve. Philip aſſented to this counſel; but the former precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. One diviſion preſſed upon another; orders to ſtop were not ſeaſonably conveyed to all of them; this immenſe body was not governed by ſufficient diſcipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and diſordered, in preſence of the enemy. The firſt line, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the ſecond was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; the king himſelf was at the head of the third. Beſides the French monarch, there were no leſs than three crowned heads in this engagement; the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans his ſon, and the king of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vaſſals of the crown of France. The army now conſiſted of above one hundred and twenty thouſand men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was ſuperior to the advantage of all this force and ſplendour.

The Engliſh, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immoveable; and the Genoeſe firſt began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder ſhower, which had moiſtened and relaxed the ſtrings of the Genoeſe croſs-bows; their arrows, for this reaſon, fell ſhort of the enemy. The Engliſh archers, taking their bows out of their caſes, poured in a ſhower of arrows upon this multitude who were oppoſed to them, and ſoon threw them into diſorder. The Genoeſe fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the count of

Alençon;[x] who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. The artillery fired amidſt the crowd; the Engliſh archers continued to ſend in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be ſeen in that vaſt body but hurry and confuſion, terror and diſmay. The young prince of Wales had the preſence of mind to take advantage of this ſituation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering ſomewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a ſtout reſiſtance; and, having at laſt cleared themſelves of the Genoeſe runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their ſuperior numbers began to hem them round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to ſuſtain the prince; who, ardent in his firſt feats of arms, ſet an example of valour which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for ſome time, hot and dangerous; and the earl of Warwick, apprehenſive of the event from the ſuperior numbers of the French, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, and entreated him to ſend ſuccours to the relief of the prince. Edward had choſen his ſtation on the top of the hill, and he ſurveyed in tranquillity the ſcene of action. When the meſſenger accoſted him, his firſt queſtion was, whether the prince were ſlain or wounded? On receiving an anſwer in the negative, 'Return,' ſaid he, 'to my ſon, and tell him that I reſerve the honour of the day to him; I am confident that he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the honour of knighthood which I ſo lately conferred upon him. He will be able, without my aſſiſtance,[y] to repel the enemy.' This ſpeech, being reported to the prince and his attendants, inſpired them with freſh courage; they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count of Alençon was ſlain; that whole line of cavalry was thrown into diſorder; the riders were killed or diſmounted; the Welſh infantry ruſhed into the throng,

and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.[a]

The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to ſuſtain the line commanded by his brother; he found them already diſcomfited; and the example of their rout increaſed the confuſion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himſelf a horſe killed under him; he was remounted; and, though left almoſt alone, he ſeemed ſtill determined to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault ſeized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horſe, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the ſword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkneſs of the night put an end to the purſuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, 'My brave ſon! Perſevere in your honourable cauſe; you are my ſon, for valiantly have you acquitted yourſelf to-day;[a] you have ſhewn yourſelf worthy of empire

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Creſſy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and, as the Engliſh obſerved that many of the enemy had loſt their way in the night and in the miſt, they employed a ſtratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences ſome French ſtandards which they had taken in the battle; and all who were allured by this falſe ſignal were put to the ſword, and no quarter given them. In excuſe for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French king had given like orders to his troops; but the real reaſon probably was, that the Engliſh, in their preſent ſituation, did not chooſe to be encumbered with priſoners. On the day of battle, and on the enſuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, beſides about

thirty thouſand of inferior rank;[b] many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings alſo of Bohemia and Majorca were ſlain. The fate of the former was remarkable: he was blind from age; but, being reſolved to hazard his perſon, and ſet an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each ſide to the horſes of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and thoſe of his attendants, were afterwards found among the ſlain, with their horſes ſtanding by them in that ſituation.[c] His creſt was three oſtrich feathers, and his motto theſe German words, 'Ich dien,' 'I ſerve;' which the prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors adopted in memorial of this great victory. The action may ſeem no leſs remarkable for the ſmall loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh than for the great ſlaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one eſquire and three knights,[d] and very few of inferior rank; a demonſtration that the prudent diſpoſition planned by Edward, and the diſorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common caſe with engagements in thoſe times.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the meaſures which he purſued after it. Not elated by his preſent proſperity, ſo far as to expect the total conqueſt of France, or even that of any conſiderable provinces, he purpoſed only to ſecure ſuch an eaſy entrance into that kingdom as might afterwards open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme diſtance of Guienne; he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the ſide of the Low Countries, and had already loſt much of his authority over Flanders by the death of d'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themſelves,

his former partiſans, on his attempting to transfer the ſovereignty of that province to the prince of Wales.[e] The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conqueſt of Calais; and, after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the ſlain, he marched with his victorious army, and preſented himſelf before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais; and, being ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for defence, he encouraged the townſmen to perform to the utmoſt their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, ſenſible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purpoſed only to reduce it by famine. He choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp; drew intrenchments around the whole city; raiſed huts for his ſoldiers, which he covered with ſtraw or broom; and provided his army with all the conveniencies neceſſary to make them endure the winter ſeaſon, which was approaching. As the governor ſoon perceived his intention, he expelled all the uſeleſs mouths; and the king had the generoſity to allow theſe unhappy people to paſs through his camp, and he even ſupplied them with money for their journey.[f]

While Edward was engaged in this ſiege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there paſſed in different places many other events, and all to the honour of the Engliſh arms.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby maſter of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the ſuperiority. He took Mirebeau by aſſault; he made himſelf maſter of Luſignan in the ſame manner; Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; Poictiers opened its gates to him; and Derby, having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incurſions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the ſouthern provinces of France with horror and devaſtation.

The flames of war were at the ſame time kindled in Brittany. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a conſiderable army, and inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Rien; but the counteſs of Mountfort, reinforced by ſome Engliſh troops under ſir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, diſperſed his army, and took Charles himſelf priſoner.[h] His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretenſions to Brittany, compelled by the preſent neceſſity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herſelf a rival in every ſhape, and an antagoniſt, to the counteſs of Mountfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. And, while theſe heroic dames preſented this extraordinary ſcene to the world, another princeſs in England, of ſtill higher rank, ſhewed herſelf no leſs capable of exerting every manly virtue.

## CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF SCOTS.

The Scottiſh nation, after long defending, with incredible perſeverance, their liberties againſt the ſuperior force of the Engliſh, recalled their king (David Bruce) in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great aſſiſtance, he gave them the countenance of ſovereign authority; and, as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diverſion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip, the king of Scotland was comprehended; and, when Edward made his laſt invaſion upon France, David was ſtrongly ſolicited by his ally to begin alſo hoſtilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of his nation being always forward in ſuch incurſions, David ſoon muſtered a great army; entered Northumberland at the head of above fifty thouſand men; and carried his ravages and devaſtations to the gates

of Durham.[i] But queen Philippa, aſſembling a body of little more than twelve thouſand men,[k] which ſhe intruſted to the command of lord Piercy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Croſs near that city; and, riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on theſe barbarous ravagers:[l] nor could ſhe be perſuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the Engliſh, even though they commonly declined ſuch engagements where the ſuperiority of numbers was not on their ſide; but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the preſent. They were broken and chaſed off the field: fifteen thouſand of them, ſome hiſtorians ſay twenty thouſand, were ſlain; among whom were Edward Keith earl mareſchal, and ſir Thomas Charteris chancellor: and the king himſelf was taken priſoner, with the earls of Sutherland, Fife, Monteith, Carric, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.[m]

Philippa, having ſecured her royal priſoner [n] in the tower, croſſed the ſea at Dover; and was received in the Engliſh camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her ſucceſs. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry; Edward's court excelled in theſe accompliſhments as much as in policy and arms; and, if any thing could juſtify the obſequious devotion then profeſſed to the fair ſex, it muſt be the appearance of ſuch extraordinary women as ſhone forth during that period.

## CALAIS TAKEN. 1347.

The town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, conſtancy, and bravery, by the townſmen, during a ſiege of unuſual length. But Philip, informed of their diſtreſſed con-

dition, determined at laſt to attempt their relief; and he approached the Engliſh with an immenſe army, which the writers of that age make amount to two hundred thouſand men. But he found Edward ſo ſurrounded with moraſſes, and ſecured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable deſtruction, he concluded it impoſſible to make an attempt on the Engliſh camp. He had no other reſource than to ſend his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field; which being refuſed, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and diſperſe them into their ſeveral provinces.[o]

John of Vienne, governor of Calais, now ſaw the neceſſity of ſurrendering his fortreſs, which was reduced to the laſt extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared on the walls, and made a ſignal to the Engliſh centinels that he deſired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was ſent to him by Edward. 'Brave knight,' cried the governor, 'I have been intruſted by my ſovereign with the command of this town; it is almoſt a year ſince you beſieged me; and I have endeavoured, as well as thoſe under me, to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our preſent condition; we have no hopes of relief; we are periſhing with hunger; I am willing, therefore, to ſurrender; and deſire, as the ſole condition, to enſure the lives and liberties of theſe brave men,[p] who have ſo long ſhared with me every danger and fatigue.'

Manny replied that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the king of England; that that prince was incenſed againſt the townſmen of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, and for the evils which they had made him and his ſubjects ſuffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them; and would not receive the town on any condition which ſhould confine him in the puniſhment of theſe offenders. 'Conſider,' replied Vienne, 'that this is not the treatment to which

brave men are entitled; if any Engliſh knight had been in my ſituation, your king would have expected the ſame conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their ſovereign what merits the eſteem of every prince, much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you that, if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf.'

Manny was ſtruck with the juſtneſs of the ſentiments, and repreſented to the king the danger of repriſals, if he ſhould give ſuch treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at laſt perſuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded; he only inſiſted that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould be ſent to him, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper; that they ſhould come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on theſe conditions he promiſed to ſpare the lives of all the remainder.[q]

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it ſtruck the inhabitants with new conſternation. To ſacrifice ſix of their fellow citizens to certain deſtruction, for ſignalizing their valour in a common cauſe, appeared to them even more ſevere than that general puniſhment with which they were before threatened; and they found themſelves incapable of coming to any reſolution in ſo cruel and diſtreſsful a ſituation. At laſt one of the principal inhabitants, called Euſtace de St. Pierre, whoſe name deſerves to be recorded, ſtepped forth, and declared himſelf willing to encounter death for the ſafety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth preſented themſelves to the

ſame fate; and the whole number was ſoon completed. Theſe ſix heroic burgeſſes appeared before Edward in the guiſe of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led to execution. It is ſurpriſing that ſo generous a prince ſhould ever have entertained ſuch a barbarous purpoſe againſt ſuch men, and ſtill more that he ſhould ſeriouſly perſiſt in the reſolution of executing it. But the entreaties of his queen ſaved his memory from that infamy; ſhe threw herſelf on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of theſe citizens. Having obtained her requeſt, ſhe carried them into her tent, ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them, and, after making them a preſent of money and clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety.'

The king took poſſeſſion of Calais; and immediately executed an act of rigour, more juſtifiable, becauſe more neceſſary, than that which he had before reſolved on. He knew that, notwithſtanding his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as a mortal enemy; he, therefore, ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with Engliſh; a policy which probably preſerved ſo long to his ſucceſſors the dominion of that important fortreſs. He made it the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the ſole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was any conſiderable demand in foreign markets. All the Engliſh were obliged to bring thither theſe goods; foreign merchants came to the ſame place in order to purchaſe them; and, at a period when poſts were not eſtabliſhed, and when the communication between ſtates was ſo imperfect, this inſtitution, though it hurt the navigation of England, was probably of advantage to the kingdom.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this ceſſation of

THE SURRENDER OF CALAIS.

arms, he had very nearly loſt Calais, the ſole fruit of all his boaſted victories. The king had intruſted that place to Aimery de Pavie, an Italian, who had diſcovered bravery and conduct in the wars, but was utterly deſtitute of every principle of honour and fidelity. This man agreed to deliver up Calais for the ſum of twenty thouſand crowns; and Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded the French forces in thoſe quarters, and who knew that, if he ſucceeded in this ſervice, he ſhould not be diſavowed, ventured, without conſulting his maſter, to conclude the bargain with him. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of Aimery's ſecretary, ſummoned the governor to London on other pretences; and having charged him with the guilt, promiſed him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. The Italian eaſily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thouſand men under ſir Walter Manny, ſecretly departed from London, carrying with him the prince of Wales; and, without being ſuſpected, arrived the evening before at Calais. He made a proper diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces and the garriſon under arms. On the appearance of Charni, a choſen band of French ſoldiers was admitted at the poſtern; and Aimery, receiving the ſtipulated ſum, promiſed that, with their aſſiſtance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. All the French who entered were immediately ſlain, or taken priſoners; the great gate opened; Edward ruſhed forth with cries of battle and of victory; the French, though aſtoniſhed at the event, behaved with valour; a fierce and bloody engagement enſued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not diſtinguiſhed by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the ſtandard of

ſir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Euſtace de Ribaumont, who exerted himſelf with ſingular vigour and bravery; and he was ſeized with a deſire of trying a ſingle combat with him. He ſtepped forth from his troop, and, challenging Ribaumont by name, (for he was known to him) began a ſharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman: he twice recovered himſelf: blows were redoubled with equal force on both ſides: the victory was long undecided; till Ribaumont, perceiving himſelf to be left almoſt alone, called out to his antagoniſt, 'Sir knight, I yield myſelf your priſoner;' and at the ſame time delivered his ſword to the king. Moſt of the French, being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, loſt either their lives or their liberty.'

The French officers, who had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, were conducted into Calais; where Edward diſcovered to them the antagoniſt with whom they had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courteſy. They were admitted to ſup with the prince of Wales and the Engliſh nobility; and, after ſupper, the king himſelf came into the apartment, and went about, converſing familiarly with one or other of his priſoners. He even addreſſed himſelf to Charni, and avoided reproaching him, in too ſevere terms, with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce: but he openly beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Ribaumont; called him the moſt valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confeſſed that he himſelf had at no time been in ſo great danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a ſtring of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and, throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he ſaid to him, 'Sir Euſtace, I beſtow this preſent upon you as a teſtimony of my eſteem for your bravery; and I deſire you to

wear it a year for my ſake. I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damſels; let them all know from what hand you had the preſent. You are no longer a priſoner; I acquit you of your ranſom; and you are at liberty to-morrow to diſpoſe of yourſelf as you think proper.'

Nothing proves more evidently the vaſt ſuperiority aſſumed by the nobility and gentry above all the other orders of men, during thoſe ages, than the extreme difference which Edward made in his treatment of theſe French knights, and that of the ſix citizens of Calais, who had exerted more ſignal bravery in a cauſe more juſtifiable and more honourable.

# CHAPTER XVI.

# EDWARD III.

INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER....STATE OF FRANCE....BATTLE OF POICTIERS AND CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE....STATE OF THAT KINGDOM....INVASION OF FRANCE....PEACE OF BRETIGNI....STATE OF FRANCE....EXPEDITION INTO CASTILE....RUPTURE WITH FRANCE....ILL SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH....DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES....DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING....MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS IN THIS REIGN.

## INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER. 1349.

THE prudent conduct and great ſucceſs of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a ſtrong emulation and a military genius among the Engliſh nobility; and theſe turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more uſeful direction to their ambition, and attached themſelves to a prince who led them to the acquiſition of riches and of glory. That he might farther promote the ſpirit of emulation and obedience, the king inſtituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of ſome orders of a like nature, religious as well as military, which had been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order conſiſted of twenty-five perſons beſides the ſovereign;

and, as it has never been enlarged, this badge of diſtinction continues as honourable as at its firſt inſtitution, and is ſtill a valuable, though a cheap, preſent, which the prince can confer on his greateſt ſubjects. A vulgar ſtory prevails, but is not ſupported by any ancient authority, that, at a court ball, Edward's miſtreſs, commonly ſuppoſed to be the counteſs of Saliſbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, obſerved ſome of the courtiers to ſmile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favour merely by accident; upon which he called out, 'Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe,' 'Evil to him that evil thinks:' and, as every incident of gallantry among theſe ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance,' he inſtituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave theſe words as the motto of the order. This origin, though frivolous, is not unſuitable to the manners of the times; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account, either for the ſeemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which ſeems to have no reference to any purpoſe either of military uſe or ornament.

But a ſudden damp was thrown over this feſtivity and triumph of the court of England by a deſtructive peſtilence, which invaded that kingdom as well as the reſt of Europe; and is computed to have ſwept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. It was probably more fatal in great cities than in the country; and above fifty thouſand ſouls are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London alone.[n] This malady firſt diſcovered itſelf in the north of Aſia, was ſpread over all that country, made its progreſs from one end of Europe to the other, and ſenſibly depopulated every ſtate through which it paſſed. So grievous a calamity, more than the pacific diſpoſition of the princes, ſerved to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.

VICTORY OVER SPANISH FLEET

## STATE OF FRANCE. 1354.

During this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of France, which his bad ſucceſs againſt England had thrown into extreme diſorder. This monarch, during the firſt years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of 'fortunate,' and acquired the character of prudent; but he ill maintained either the one or the other; leſs from his own fault, than becauſe he was overmatched by the ſuperior fortune and ſuperior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his ſon John gave the French nation cauſe to regret even the calamitous times of his predeceſſor. John was diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, particularly a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity; he was not deficient in perſonal courage; but, as he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight which his difficult ſituation required, his kingdom was at the ſame time diſturbed by inteſtine commotions, and oppreſſed with foreign wars. The chief ſource of its calamities was Charles king of Navarre, who received the epithet of 'the bad' or 'wicked,' and whoſe conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. This prince was deſcended from males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin; he had himſelf eſpouſed a daughter of king John: but all theſe ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to ſhake and overthrow it. With regard to his perſonal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent; full of inſinuation and addreſs; inexhauſtible in his reſources; active and enterpriſing. But theſe ſplendid accompliſhments were attended with ſuch defects as rendered them pernicious to his country, and even ruinous to himſelf. He was volatile, inconſtant, faithleſs, revengeful, malicious; reſtrained by no principle or duty; inſati-

able in his pretenſions; and, whether ſucceſsful or unfortunate in one enterpriſe, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the moſt criminal and moſt diſhonourable expedients.

The conſtable of Eu, who had been taken priſoner by Edward at Caen, recovered his liberty, on the promiſe of delivering as his ranſom the town of Guiſnes, near Calais, of which he was ſuperior lord: but, as John was offended at this ſtipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened ſtill farther that frontier to the enemy, and as he ſuſpected the conſtable of more dangerous connexions with the king of England, he ordered him to be ſeized, and, without any legal or formal trial, put him to death in priſon. Charles de la Cerda was appointed conſtable in his place, and had a like fatal end. The king of Navarre ordered him to be aſſaſſinated; and ſuch was the weakneſs of the crown that this prince, inſtead of dreading puniſhment, would not even agree to aſk pardon for his offence, but on condition that he ſhould receive an acceſſion of territory. And he had alſo John's ſecond ſon put into his hands, as a ſecurity for his perſon, when he came to court, and performed this act of mock penitence and humiliation before his ſovereign.[x]

The two French princes ſeemed entirely reconciled; but this diſſimulation, to which John ſubmitted from neceſſity, and Charles from habit, did not long continue; and the king of Navarre knew that he had reaſon to apprehend the moſt ſevere vengeance for the many crimes and treaſons which he had already committed, and the ſtill greater which he was meditating. To enſure himſelf of protection, he entered into a ſecret correſpondence with England, by means of Henry earl of Derby, now earl of Lancaſter, who at that time was employed in fruitleſs negociations for peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. John detected this correſpondence; and, to prevent the dangerous

effects of it, he ſent forces into Normandy, the chief ſeat of the king of Navarre's power, and attacked his caſtles and fortreſſes: but, hearing that Edward had prepared an army to ſupport his ally, he had the weakneſs to propoſe an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this traiterous ſubject the ſum of a hundred thouſand crowns as the purchaſe of a feigned reconcilement, which rendered him ſtill more dangerous. The king of Navarre, inſolent from paſt impunity, and deſperate from the dangers which he apprehended, continued his intrigues; and, aſſociating himſelf with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from Philip de Valois, but perſevered ſtill in his factious diſpoſition, he increaſed the number of his partiſans in every part of the kingdom. He even ſeduced, by his addreſs, Charles the king of France's eldeſt ſon, a youth of ſeventeen years of age, who was the firſt that bore the appellation of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince, being made ſenſible of the danger and folly of theſe connexions, promiſed to make atonement for the offence by the ſacrifice of his aſſociates; and, in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feaſt at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the moſt obnoxious were immediately led to execution; the king of Navarre was thrown into priſon.[r] But this ſtroke of ſeverity in the king, and of treachery in the dauphin, was far from proving deciſive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and caſtles belonging to that prince in a poſture of defence, and had immediate recourſe to the protection of England in this deſperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill obſerved on both ſides, was now expired; and Edward was

entirely free to ſupport the French malcontents. Well pleaſed that the factions in France had at length gained him ſome partiſans in that kingdom, which his pretenſions to the crown had never been able to accompliſh, he purpoſed to attack his enemy both on the ſide of Guienne under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais in his own perſon.

Young Edward arrived in the Garonne, with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred ſail, attended by the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other Engliſh noblemen. Being joined by the vaſſals of Gaſcony, he took the field; and, as the preſent diſorders in France prevented every proper plan of defence, he carried on with impunity his ravages and devaſtations, according to the mode of war in that age. He reduced all the villages and ſeveral towns in Languedoc to aſhes; he preſented himſelf before Thouloufe; paſſed the Garonne, and burned the ſuburbs of Carcaſſonne; advanced even to Narbonne, laying every place waſte around him; and, after an incurſion of ſix weeks, returned with a vaſt booty and many priſoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters.* The conſtable of Bourbon, who commanded in theſe provinces, received orders, though at the head of a ſuperior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

The king of England's incurſion from Calais was of the ſame nature, and attended with the ſame iſſue. He broke into France at the head of a numerous army; to which he gave a full licenſe of plundering and ravaging the open country. He advanced to St. Omer, where the king of France was poſted; and, on the retreat of that prince, followed him to Heſdin.* John ſtill kept at a diſtance, and declined an engagement: but, in order to ſave his reputation, he ſent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him; a uſual bravado in that age, derived from the practice of ſingle combat, and ridiculous in the art of war. The

king, finding no ſincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom againſt a threatened invaſion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the king's abſence, and that of the military power of England, had ſurpriſed Berwick; and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces: but on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the caſtle was in the hands of the Engliſh; and, retiring to their mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and deſtroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh.[b] Baliol attended Edward on this expedition; but, finding that his conſtant adherence to the Engliſh had given his countrymen an unconquerable averſion to his title, and that he himſelf was declining through age and infirmities, he finally reſigned into the king's hands his pretenſions to the crown of Scotland,[c] and received in lieu of them an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds, with which he paſſed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement.

During theſe military operations Edward received information of the increaſing diſorders in France, ariſing from the impriſonment of the king of Navarre; and he ſent Lancaſter, at the head of a ſmall army, to ſupport the partiſans of that prince in Normandy. The war was conducted with various ſucceſs, but chiefly to the diſadvantage of the French malcontents; till an important event happened in the other quarter of the kingdom, which had well nigh proved fatal to the monarchy of France, and threw every thing into the utmoſt confuſion.

## BATTLE OF POICTIERS; KING OF FRANCE TAKEN. 1356.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army, which no hiſtorian

makes amount to above twelve thouſand men, and of which not a third were Engliſh; and, with this ſmall body, he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limouſin, he entered the province of Berry, and made ſome attacks, though without ſucceſs, on the towns of Bourges and Iſſoudun. It appeared that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with thoſe of the earl of Lancaſter and the partiſans of the king of Navarre; but, finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every paſs carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne.[d] He found this reſolution the more neceſſary, from the intelligence which he received of the king of France's motions. That monarch, provoked at the inſult offered him by this incurſion, and entertaining hopes of ſucceſs from the young prince's temerity, collected a great army of above ſixty thouſand men, and advanced, by haſty marches, to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, loſt ſome days on his retreat before the caſtle[e] of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within ſight at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; and Edward, ſenſible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldeſt and moſt experienced commander.

But the utmoſt prudence and courage would have proved inſufficient to ſave him in this extremity, had the king of France known how to make uſe of his preſent advantages. His great ſuperiority in numbers enabled him to ſurround the enemy; and, by intercepting all proviſions, which were already become ſcarce in the Engliſh camp, to reduce this ſmall army, without a blow, to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. But ſuch was the impatient ardour of the French nobility, and ſo much

had their thoughts been bent on overtaking the Engliſh as their ſole object, that this idea never ſtruck any of the commanders; and they immediately took meaſures for the aſſault, as for a certain victory. While the French army was drawn up in order of battle, they were ſtopped by the appearance of the cardinal of Perigord; who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had haſtened, by interpoſing his good offices, to prevent any farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood. By John's permiſſion, he carried propoſals to the prince of Wales; and found him ſo ſenſible of the bad poſture of his affairs, that an accommodation ſeemed not impracticable. Edward told him that he would agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour and that of England; and he offered to purchaſe a retreat, by ceding all the conqueſts which he had made during this and the former campaign, and by ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during the courſe of ſeven years. But John, imagining that he had now got into his hands a ſufficient pledge for the reſtitution of Calais, required that Edward ſhould ſurrender himſelf priſoner with a hundred of his attendants; and offered, on theſe terms, a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The prince rejected the propoſal with diſdain; and declared that, whatever fortune might attend him, England ſhould never be obliged to pay the price of his ranſom. This reſolute anſwer cut off all hopes of accommodation; but, as the day was already ſpent in negociating, the battle was delayed till the next morning.[f]

The cardinal of Perigord, as did all the prelates of the court of Rome, bore a great attachment to the French intereſt; but the moſt determined enemy could not, by any expedient, have done a greater prejudice to John's affairs than he did them by this delay. The prince of Wales had leiſure, during the night, to ſtrengthen, by new intrenchments, the poſt which he had before ſo judiciouſly choſen; and he contrived an ambuſh of

three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himſelf. The lords Chandos, Audeley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of his army.

John alſo arranged his forces in three diviſions, nearly equal: the firſt was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himſelf, who had by his ſide Philip his fourth ſon and favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the Engliſh army but through a narrow lane, covered on each ſide by hedges; and, in order to open this paſſage, the mareſchals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a ſeparate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of Engliſh archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each ſide with their arrows; and, being very near them, yet placed in perfect ſafety, they coolly took their aim againſt the enemy, and ſlaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much diſcouraged by the unequal combat, and diminiſhed in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met, on the open ground, the prince of Wales himſelf, at the head of a choſen body, ready for their reception. They were diſcomfited and overthrown; one of the mareſchals was ſlain, the other taken priſoner; and the remainder of the detachment, who were ſtill in the lane, and expoſed to the ſhot of the enemy, without being able to make reſiſtance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into diſorder.[g] In that critical moment the

Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into ſome confuſion. Landas, Bondenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge or for their own ſafety, carried them off the field, and ſet the example of flight, which was followed by that whole diviſion. The duke of Orleans, ſeized with a like panic, and imagining all was loſt, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his diviſion by a retreat, which ſoon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince that the day was won, and encouraged him to attack the diviſion under king John; which, though more numerous than the whole Engliſh army, were ſomewhat diſmayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmoſt efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only reſiſtance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuoſity on ſome German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Noſto. A fierce battle enſued. One ſide were encouraged by the near proſpect of ſo great a victory; the other were ſtimulated by the ſhame of quitting the field to an enemy ſo much inferior. But the three German generals, together with the duke of Athens conſtable of France, falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himſelf expoſed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him: the nobles fell by his ſide one after another: his ſon, ſcarce fourteen years of age, received a wound while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father: the king himſelf, ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might eaſily have been ſlain; but every Engliſh gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal priſoner, ſpared him in the action, exhorted him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter: ſeveral, who

attempted to ſeize him, ſuffered for their temerity. He ſtill cried out, 'Where is my couſin, the prince of Wales?' and ſeemed unwilling to become priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank. But, being told that the prince was at a diſtance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His ſon was taken with him.[h]

The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in purſuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was repoſing himſelf after the toils of battle; inquiring ſtill with great anxiety concerning the fate of the French monarch. He diſpatched the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to ſave the life of the captive prince, which was expoſed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The Engliſh had taken him by violence from Morbec; the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining the royal priſoner; and ſome brutal ſoldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death.[i] Warwick overawed both parties, and, approaching the king with great demonſtrations of reſpect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroiſm of Edward; for victories are vulgar things in compariſon of that moderation and humanity diſplayed by a young prince of twenty-ſeven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected ſucceſs as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and ſympathy; adminiſtered comfort to him amidſt his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a ſuperior providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and

prudence.[k] The behaviour of John ſhewed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment. His preſent abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generoſity than by his own calamities, he confeſſed that, notwithſtanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was ſtill unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at leaſt gained by a prince of ſuch conſummate valour and humanity.

Edward ordered a repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the priſoner; and he himſelf ſerved at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue: he ſtood at the king's back during the meal; conſtantly refuſed to take a place at table; and declared that, being a ſubject, he was too well acquainted with the diſtance between his own rank and that of royal majeſty to aſſume ſuch freedom. All his father's pretenſions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion; John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on the throne; his misfortunes, not his title, were reſpected; and the French priſoners, conquered by this elevation of mind more than by their late diſcomfiture, burſt into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection that ſuch genuine and unaltered heroiſm in an enemy muſt certainly, in the iſſue, prove but the more dangerous to their native country.[l]

All the Engliſh and Gaſcon knights imitated the generous example ſet them by their prince. The captives were every where treated with humanity, and were ſoon after diſmiſſed, on paying moderate ranſoms to the perſons into whoſe hands they had fallen. The extent of their fortunes was conſidered; and an attention was given that they ſhould ſtill have ſufficient means left to perform their military ſervice in a manner ſuitable to their rank and quality. Yet ſo numerous were the noble pri-

ſoners, that theſe ranſoms, added to the ſpoils gained in the field, were ſufficient to enrich the prince's army; and, as they had ſuffered very little in the action, their joy and exultation were complete.

The prince of Wales conducted his priſoner to Bourdeaux; and, not being provided with forces ſo numerous as might enable him to puſh his preſent advantages, he concluded a two years' truce with France,[m] which was alſo become requiſite, that he might conduct the captive king with ſafety into England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourſe of people of all ranks and ſtations. The priſoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white ſteed, diſtinguiſhed by its ſize and beauty, and by the richneſs of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his ſide in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfry. In this ſituation, more glorious than all the inſolent parade of a Roman triumph, he paſſed through the ſtreets of London, and preſented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the ſame courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly viſit.[n] It is impoſſible, in reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which reſulted from the otherwiſe whimſical principles of chivalry, and which gave men, in thoſe rude times, ſome ſuperiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation.

The king of France, beſides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy conſolation of the wretched, to ſee companions in affliction. The king of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be priſoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conqueſt of Scotland was nowiſe advanced by the captivity

of its ſovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart his nephew and heir, was ſtill able to defend itſelf, conſented to reſtore David Bruce to his liberty for the ranſom of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling; and that prince delivered the ſons of all his principal nobility as hoſtages for the payment.°

## STATE OF FRANCE. 1358.

MEANWHILE the captivity of John, joined to the preceding diſorders of the French government, had produced in that country a diſſolution, almoſt total, of civil authority, and had occaſioned confuſions, the moſt horrible and deſtructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally aſſumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but, though endowed with an excellent capacity even in ſuch early years, he poſſeſſed neither experience nor authority ſufficient to defend a ſtate, aſſailed at once by foreign power and ſhaken by inteſtine faction. In order to obtain ſupply, he aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom: that aſſembly, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, were themſelves ſeized with the ſpirit of confuſion; and laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the puniſhment of paſt malverſations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants, and firſt magiſtrate of Paris, put himſelf at the head of the unruly populace; and, from the violence and temerity of his character, puſhed them to commit the moſt criminal outrages againſt the royal authority. They detained the dauphin in a ſort of captivity; they murdered in his preſence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareſchals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other miniſters with a like

fate; and, when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and diſſemble, made his eſcape from their hands, they levied war againſt him, and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, ſhook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and ſpread the diſorder into every province. The nobles, whoſe inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had loſt all their influence; and, being reproached with cowardice on account of the baſe deſertion of their ſovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with univerſal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in diſcipline, threw off all regard to their officers, ſought the means of ſubſiſtence by plunder and robbery, and, aſſociating to them all the diſorderly people with whom that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infeſted all parts of the kingdom. They deſolated the open country; burned and plundered the villages; and, by cutting off all means of communication or ſubſiſtence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the moſt extreme neceſſity. The peaſants, formerly oppreſſed and now left unprotected by their maſters, became deſperate from their preſent miſery; and, riſing every where in arms, carried to the laſt extremity thoſe diſorders which were derived from the ſedition of the citizens and diſbanded ſoldiers.[p] The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where expoſed to the violence of popular rage; and, inſtead of meeting with the regard due to their paſt dignity, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton inſult to the mutinous peaſants. They were hunted like wild beaſts, and put to the ſword without mercy; their caſtles were conſumed with fire, and levelled to the ground; their wives and daughters were firſt raviſhed, then murdered. The ſavages proceeded ſo far as to impale ſome

gentlemen, and roaſt them alive before a ſlow fire. A body of nine thouſand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, with above three hundred ladies, had taken ſhelter. The moſt brutal treatment and moſt atrocious cruelty were juſtly dreaded by this helpleſs company; but the Captal de Buche, though in the ſervice of Edward, yet, moved by generoſity and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their reſcue, and beat off the peaſants with great ſlaughter. In other civil wars the oppoſite factions, falling under the government of their ſeveral leaders, commonly preſerve ſtill the veſtige of ſome rule and order: but here the wild ſtate of nature ſeemed to be renewed; every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellows; and the populouſneſs of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil ſociety, ſerved only to increaſe the horror and confuſion of the ſcene.

Amidſt theſe diſorders the king of Navarre made his eſcape from priſon, and preſented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents.[9] But the ſplendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do miſchief, and to increaſe the public diſtractions. He wanted the ſteadineſs and prudence requiſite for making his intrigues ſubſervient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partiſans into a regular faction. He revived his pretenſions, ſomewhat obſolete, to the crown of France: but, while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the Engliſh, who were concerned in intereſt to diſappoint his pretenſions; and who, being public and inveterate enemies to the ſtate, ſerved only, by the friendſhip which they ſeemingly bore him, to render his cauſe the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti than one who aſpired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged, by his ſtation, to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the community.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French, who wiſhed to reſtore peace to their miſerable and deſolated country, were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, poſſeſſed ſo much prudence and ſpirit, that he daily gained the aſcendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt of Paris, was ſlain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the Engliſh; and the capital immediately returned to its duty.[r] The moſt conſiderable bodies of the mutinous peaſants were diſperſed and put to the ſword; ſome bands of military robbers underwent the ſame fate; and, though many grievous diſorders ſtill remained, France began gradually to aſſume the face of a regular civil government, and to form ſome plan for its defence and ſecurity.

During the confuſion of the dauphin's affairs Edward ſeemed to have a favourable opportunity for puſhing his conqueſts: but, beſides that his hands were tied by the truce, and he could only aſſiſt underhand the faction of Navarre, the ſtate of the Engliſh finances and military power, during thoſe ages, rendered the kingdom incapable of making any regular or ſteady effort, and obliged it to exert its force at very diſtant intervals, by which all the projected ends were commonly diſappointed. Edward employed himſelf, during a conjuncture ſo inviting, chiefly in negociations with his priſoner; and John had the weakneſs to ſign terms of peace, which, had they taken effect, muſt have totally ruined and diſmembered his kingdom. He agreed to reſtore all the provinces which had been poſſeſſed by Henry II, and his two ſons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the Engliſh monarch. But the dauphin and the ſtates of France rejected this treaty, ſo diſhonourable and pernicious to the kingdom;[s] and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now by ſubſidies

and frugality collected ſome treaſure, prepared himſelf for a new invaſion of France.

The great authority and renown of the king and the prince of Wales, the ſplendid ſucceſs of their former enterpriſes, and the certain proſpect of plunder from the defenceleſs provinces of France, ſoon brought together the whole military power of England; and the ſame motives invited to Edward's ſtandard all the hardy adventurers of the different countries of Europe.[1] He paſſed over to Calais, where he aſſembled an army of near a hundred thouſand men; a force which the dauphin could not pretend to withſtand in the open field; that prince, therefore, prepared himſelf to elude a blow which it was impoſſible for him to reſiſt. He put all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence; ordered them to be ſupplied with magazines and proviſions; diſtributed proper garriſons in all places; ſecured every thing valuable in the fortified cities; and choſe his own ſtation at Paris, with a view of allowing the enemy to vent their fury on the open country.

## INVASION OF FRANCE. 1359.

The king, aware of this plan of defence, was obliged to carry along with him ſix thouſand waggons, loaded with the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his army. After ravaging the province of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne; and, having a ſtrong deſire of being crowned king of France at Rheims, the uſual place in which this ceremony is performed, he laid ſiege to that city; and carried on his attacks, though without ſucceſs, for the ſpace of ſeven weeks.[2] The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of the archbiſhop John de Craon; till the advanced ſeaſon (for this expedition was entered upon in the beginning of winter) obliged

the king to raiſe the ſiege. The province of Champagne meanwhile was deſolated by his incurſions; and he thence conducted his army with a like intent into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other ſmall places: but the duke of Burgundy, that he might preſerve his country from farther ravages, conſented to pay him the ſum of one hundred thouſand nobles.* Edward then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which ſaved itſelf by a like compoſition: he laid waſte Brie and the Gatinois; and, after a long march, very deſtructive to France, and ſomewhat ruinous to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Montrouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle, by ſending him a defiance; but could not make that prudent prince change his plan of operations. Paris was ſafe from the danger of an aſſault by its numerous garriſon; from that of a blockade by its well ſupplied magazines. And, as Edward himſelf could not ſubſiſt his army in a country waſted by foreign and domeſtic enemies, and left alſo empty by the precaution of the dauphin, he was obliged to remove his quarters; and he ſpread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devaſtations.* The only repoſe which France experienced was during the feſtival of Eaſter, when the king ſtopped the courſe of his ravages; for ſuperſtition can ſometimes reſtrain the rage of men, which neither juſtice nor humanity is able to control.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negociations for peace were never interrupted: but, as the king ſtill inſiſted on the full execution of the treaty which he had made with his priſoner at London, and which was ſtrenuouſly rejected by the dauphin, there appeared no likelihood of an

accommodation. The earl, now duke of Lancaſter (for this title was introduced into England during the preſent reign) endeavoured to ſoften the rigour of theſe terms, and to finiſh the war on more equal and reaſonable conditions. He inſiſted with Edward that, notwithſtanding his great and ſurpriſing ſucceſſes, the object of the war, if ſuch were to be eſteemed the acquiſition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it; or rather was ſet at a greater diſtance by thoſe very victories and advantages which ſeemed to lead to it: that his claim of ſucceſſion had not from the firſt procured him one partiſan in the kingdom; and the continuance of theſe deſtructive hoſtilities had united every Frenchman in the moſt implacable animoſity againſt him: that, though inteſtine faction had creeped into the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greateſt heat of the conteſt, when ſubjection under a foreign enemy uſually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow citizens, had ever adopted the pretenſions of the king of England: that the king of Navarre himſelf, who alone was allied with the Engliſh, inſtead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's moſt dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partiſans, poſſeſſed a much preferable title to the crown of France: that the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the Engliſh ſoldiers, was ruinous to the king himſelf, who bore all the charges of the armament, without reaping any ſolid or durable advantage from it: that, if the preſent diſorders of France continued, that kingdom would ſoon be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſolation, that it would afford no ſpoils to its ravagers; if it could eſtabliſh a more ſteady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favour, and by its ſuperior force and advantages be able to repel the preſent victors: that the dauphin, even during his greateſt diſtreſſes, had yet conducted himſelf with ſo much pru-

dence, as to prevent the Engliſh from acquiring one foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hoſtilities, which, however hitherto ſucceſsful, had been extremely expenſive, and might prove very dangerous: and that, Edward having acquired ſo much glory by his arms, the praiſe of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aſpire; an honour ſo much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the moſt real advantages.[y]

## PEACE OF BRETIGNI. 1360.

These reaſons induced Edward to accept of more moderate terms of peace; and it is probable that, in order to palliate this change of reſolution, he aſcribed it to a vow made during a dreadful tempeſt, which attacked his army on their march, and which ancient hiſtorians repreſent as the cauſe of this ſudden accommodation.[z] The conferences between the Engliſh and French commiſſioners were carried on during a few days at Bretigni in the Chartraine, and the peace was at laſt concluded on the following conditions.[a] It was ſtipulated that king John ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, and ſhould pay as his ranſom three millions of crowns of gold, about one million five hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money;[b] which was to be diſcharged at different payments: that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limouſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other diſtricts in that quarter; together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other

ſide of France: that the full ſovereignty of all theſe provinces, as well as that of Guienne, ſhould be veſted in the crown of England; and that France ſhould renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal, from them: that the king of Navarre ſhould be reſtored to all his honours and poſſeſſions: that Edward ſhould renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connexions with the Scots: that the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion of Brittany, between the families of Blois and Mountfort, ſhould be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and, if the competitors refuſed to ſubmit to the award, the diſpute ſhould no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hoſtages, ſuch as ſhould be agreed on, ſhould be ſent to England as a ſecurity for the execution of all theſe conditions

In conſequence of this treaty the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward alſo ſoon after repaired; and there both princes ſolemnly ratified the treaty. John was ſent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey; and the two monarchs parted with many profeſſions, probably cordial and ſincere, of mutual amity.[d] The good diſpoſition of John made him fully ſenſible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the aſcendant gained over him by his rival. There ſeldom has been a treaty of ſo great importance ſo faithfully executed by both parties. Edward had ſcarcely from the beginning entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France: by reſtoring John to his liberty, and making peace at a juncture ſo favourable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretenſions of this nature: he had ſold, at a very high price, that chimerical claim; and had at preſent no other intereſt than to retain thoſe acquiſitions which he had made with ſuch ſingular prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were

ſevere, poſſeſſed ſuch fidelity and honour, that he was determined at all hazards to execute them, and to uſe every expedient for ſatisfying a monarch who had indeed been his greateſt political enemy, but had treated him perſonally with ſingular humanity and regard. But, notwithſtanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpoſe, chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vaſſals in the neighbourhood of Guienne expreſſed againſt ſubmitting to the Engliſh dominion;* and John, in order to adjuſt theſe differences, took a reſolution of coming over himſelf to England. His council endeavoured to diſſuade him from this raſh deſign; and probably would have been pleaſed to ſee him employ more chicanes for eluding the execution of ſo diſadvantageous a treaty: but John replied to them that, though good faith were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought ſtill to retain her habitation in the breaſts of princes. Some hiſtorians would detract from the merit of this honourable conduct, by repreſenting John as enamoured of an Engliſh lady, to whom he was glad on this pretence to pay a viſit: but, beſides that this ſurmiſe is not founded on any good authority, it appears ſomewhat unlikely, on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-ſixth year. He was lodged in the Savoy; the palace where he had reſided during his captivity, and where he ſoon after ſickened and died. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the great dominion of fortune over men than the calamities which purſued a monarch of ſuch eminent valour, goodneſs, and honour; and which he incurred merely by reaſon of ſome ſlight imprudences, which in other ſituations would have been of no importance. But, though both his reign and that of his father proved extremely unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, very conſiderable acceſſions, thoſe of Dauphiny and Burgundy. This latter province, how-

ever, John had the imprudence again to diſmember by beſtowing it on Philip his fourth ſon, the object of his moſt tender affections;[f] a deed which was afterwards the ſource of many calamities to the kingdom.

John was ſucceeded in the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the ſchool of adverſity, and well qualified, by his conſummate prudence and experience, to repair all the loſſes which the kingdom had ſuſtained from the errors of his two predeceſſors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of thoſe times, which held nothing in eſtimation but military courage, he ſeems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and he was the firſt king in Europe that ſhewed the advantage of policy, foreſight, and judgment, above a raſh and precipitate valour. The events of his reign, compared with thoſe of the preceding, are a proof how little reaſon kingdoms have to value themſelves on their victories, or to be humbled by their defeats; which in reality ought to be aſcribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and are of little moment towards determining national characters and manners.

## STATE OF FRANCE. 1364.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing ſo great a power as England, it was neceſſary for him to remedy the many diſorders to which his own kingdom was expoſed. He turned his arms againſt the king of Navarre, the great diſturber of France during that age: he defeated this prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Gueſclin, a gentleman of Brittany, one of the moſt accompliſhed characters of the age, whom he had the diſcernment to chooſe as the inſtrument of all his victories;[g] and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du

Gueſclin was leſs fortunate in the wars of Brittany, which ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the mediation of France and England. He was defeated and taken priſoner at Auray by Chandos; Charles of Blois was there ſlain; and the young count of Mountfort ſoon after got entire poſſeſſion of that duchy.[h] But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow; he ſubmitted to the deciſion of fortune; he acknowledged the title of Mountfort, though a zealous partiſan of England, and received the proffered homage for his dominions. But the chief obſtacle which the French king met with in the ſettlement of the ſtate proceeded from obſcure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent, and their number dangerous.

On the concluſion of the treaty of Bretigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the ſtandard of Edward, being diſperſed into the ſeveral provinces, and poſſeſſed of ſtrong holds, refuſed to lay down their arms, or relinquiſh a courſe of life to which they were now accuſtomed, and by which alone they could gain a ſubſiſtence.[i] They aſſociated themſelves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and, under the name of the 'companies' and 'companions,' became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some Engliſh and Gaſcon gentlemen of character, particularly ſir Matthew Gournay, ſir Hugh Calverly, the chevalier Verte, and others, were not aſhamed to take the command of theſe ruffians; whoſe numbers amounted on the whole to near forty thouſand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers. Theſe leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories; in one of which Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was ſlain:[k] and they proceeded to ſuch a height, that they wanted little but regular eſtabliſhments to become princes, and thereby ſanctify, by the maxims of the world, their infamous profeſſion. The greater ſpoil they com-

mitted on the conntry, the more eaſy they found it to recruit their number; all thoſe who were reduced to miſery and deſpair flocked to their ſtandard; the evil was every day increaſing; and, though the pope declared them excommunicated, theſe military plunderers, however deeply affected with the ſentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any principles of morality, could not be induced by it to betake themſelves to peaceable or lawful profeſſions.

As Charles was not able by power to redreſs ſo enormous a grievance, he was led by neceſſity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; and to contrive ſome method of diſcharging into foreign countries this dangerous and inteſtine evil.

Peter, king of Caſtile, ſtigmatized by his contemporaries and by poſterity with the epithet of 'cruel,' had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and, having incurred the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects, he kept, from preſent terror alone, an anxious and precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his ſeverity. He put to death ſeveral of his natural brothers from groundleſs jealouſy. Each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occaſion of freſh barbarities. And, as he was not deſtitute of talents, his neighbours, no leſs than his own ſubjects, were alarmed at the progreſs of his violence and injuſtice. The ferocity of his temper, inſtead of being ſoftened by his ſtrong propenſity to love, was rather inflamed by that paſſion, and took thence new occaſion to exert itſelf. Inſtigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the aſcendant over him, he threw into priſon Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, ſiſter to the queen of France; and ſoon after made way by poiſon for the eſpouſing of his miſtreſs.

Henry, count of Tranſtamare, his natural brother, ſeeing the fate of every one who had become obnoxious to this tyrant,

took arms againſt him; but, being foiled in the attempt, he ſought for refuge in France, where he found the minds of men extremely inflamed againſt Peter, on account of his murder of the French princeſs. He aſked permiſſion of Charles to inliſt the 'companies' in his ſervice, and to lead them into Caſtile; where, from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the proſpect of certain and immediate ſucceſs. The French king, charmed with the project, employed du Gueſclin in negociating with the leaders of theſe banditti. The treaty was ſoon concluded. The high character of honour which that general poſſeſſed made every one truſt to his promiſes. Though the intended expedition was kept a ſecret, the companies implicitly inliſted under his ſtandard: and they required no other condition, before their engagement, than an aſſurance that they were not to be led againſt the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was ſo little averſe to the enterpriſe, that he allowed ſome gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the ſervice under du Gueſclin.

Du Gueſclin, having completed his levies, led the army firſt to Avignon, where the pope then reſided, and demanded, ſword in hand, an abſolution for his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. The firſt was readily promiſed him; ſome more difficulty was made with regard to the ſecond. 'I believe that my fellows,' replied du Gueſclin, 'may make a ſhift to do without your abſolution; but the money is abſolutely neceſſary.' The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood the ſum of a hundred thouſand livres, and offered it to du Gueſclin. 'It is not my purpoſe,' cried that generous warrior, 'to oppreſs the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals themſelves can well ſpare me that ſum from their own coffers. This money, I inſiſt, muſt be reſtored to the owners; and, ſhould they be defrauded of it, I ſhall myſelf return from

the other ſide of the Pyrennees, and oblige you to make them reſtitution.' The pope found the neceſſity of ſubmitting, and paid him from his treaſury the ſum demanded.[l] The army, hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils, of the church, proceeded on their expedition.

## EXPEDITION INTO CASTILE. 1367.

These experienced and hardy ſoldiers, conducted by ſo able a general, eaſily prevailed over the king of Caſtile; whoſe ſubjects, inſtead of ſupporting their oppreſſor, were ready to join the enemy againſt him.[m] Peter fled from his dominions, took ſhelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had inveſted with the ſovereignty of theſe conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine.[n] The prince ſeemed now to have entirely changed his ſentiments with regard to the Spaniſh tranſactions. Whether that he was moved by the generoſity of ſupporting a diſtreſſed prince, and thought, as is but too uſual among ſovereigns, that the rights of the people were a matter of much leſs conſideration; or dreaded the acquiſition of ſo powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Caſtile; or, what is moſt probable, was impatient of reſt and eaſe, and ſought only an opportunity for exerting his military talents, by which he had already acquired ſo much renown; he promiſed his aſſiſtance to the dethroned monarch: and, having obtained the conſent of his father, he levied a great army, and ſet out upon his enterpriſe. He was accompanied by his younger brother John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaſter in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male iſſue, and whoſe daughter he had eſpouſed. Chandos alſo, who bore among the Engliſh the ſame character which du Gueſclin had ac-

quired among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The firſt blow which the prince of Wales gave to Henry of Tranſtamare was the recalling of all the companies from his ſervice; and ſo much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and inliſted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new ſubjects, and ſupported by the king of Arragon and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thouſand men; forces three times more numerous than thoſe which were commanded by Edward. Du Gueſclin, and all his experienced officers, adviſed him to delay any deciſive action; to cut off the prince of Wales's proviſions; and to avoid every engagement with a general, whoſe enterpriſes had hitherto been always conducted with prudence and crowned with ſucceſs. Henry truſted too much to his numbers, and ventured to encounter the Engliſh prince ° at Najara. Hiſtorians of that age are commonly very copious in deſcribing the ſhock of armies in battle, the valour of the combatants, the ſlaughter and various ſucceſſes of the day: but, though ſmall rencounters in thoſe times were often well diſputed, military diſcipline was always too imperfect to preſerve order in great armies; and ſuch actions deſerve more the name of routs than of battles. Henry was chaſed off the field, with the loſs of above twenty thouſand men. There periſhed only four knights and forty private men on the ſide of the Engliſh.

Peter, who ſo well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purpoſed to murder all his priſoners in cold blood; but was reſtrained from this barbarity by the remonſtrances of the prince of Wales. All Caſtile now ſubmitted to the victor; Peter was reſtored to the throne; and Edward finiſhed this perilous enterpriſe with his uſual glory. But he had ſoon reaſon to re-

pent his connexions with a man like Peter, abandoned to all ſenſe of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces; and Edward, finding his ſoldiers daily periſh by ſickneſs, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any ſatisfaction on this head, to return into Guienne.[p]

The barbarities exerciſed by Peter over his helpleſs ſubjects, whom he now regarded as vanquiſhed rebels, revived all the animoſity of the Caſtilians againſt him; and, on the return of Henry of Tranſtamare, together with du Gueſclin, and ſome forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and was taken priſoner. His brother, in reſentment of his cruelties, murdered him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. The duke of Lancaſter, who eſpouſed in ſecond marriage the eldeſt daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that ſovereignty; and, by claiming the ſucceſſion, increaſed the animoſity of the new king of Caſtile againſt England.

## RUPTURE WITH FRANCE. 1368.

But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received, from this ſplendid though imprudent expedition, ended not with it. He had involved himſelf in ſo much debt, by his preparations and the pay of his troops, that he found it neceſſary, on his return, to impoſe on his principality a new tax; to which ſome of the nobility conſented with extreme reluctance, and to which others abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit.[q] This incident revived the animoſity which the inhabitants bore to the Engliſh, and which all the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales were not able to mitigate or aſſuage. They complained that they were conſidered as a conquered people; that their privileges were

diſregarded; that all truſt was given to the Engliſh alone; that every office of honour and profit was conferred on theſe foreigners; and that the extreme reluctance, which moſt of them had expreſſed to receive the new yoke, was likely to be long remembered againſt them. They caſt, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient ſovereign, whoſe prudence they found had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the counts of Armagnac, Comminge, and Perigord, the lord d'Albret, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, againſt theſe oppreſſions of the Engliſh government.[t]

In the treaty of Bretigni it had been ſtipulated that the two kings ſhould make renunciations; Edward of his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John of the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the Engliſh. But, when that treaty was confirmed and renewed at Calais, it was found neceſſary, as Edward was not yet in poſſeſſion of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations ſhould for ſome time be deferred; and it was agreed that the parties meanwhile ſhould make no uſe of their reſpective claims " againſt each other. Though the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations had ſtill proceeded from France,[t] Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it; both becauſe this clauſe ſeemed to give him entire ſecurity, and becauſe ſome reaſonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles reſolved to ground his claim, of ſtill conſidering himſelf as ſuperior lord of thoſe provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his ſubvaſſals.[u]

But, as views of policy, more than thoſe of juſtice, enter into the deliberations of princes; and as the mortal injuries received

from the Engliſh, the pride of their triumphs, the ſevere terms impoſed by the treaty of peace, ſeemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable againſt them; Charles was determined to take this meaſure, leſs by the reaſonings of his civilians and lawyers than by the preſent ſituation of the two monarchies. He conſidered the declining years of Edward, the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all theſe provinces bore to their ancient maſter, their diſtance from England, their vicinity to France, the extreme animoſity expreſſed by his own ſubjects againſt theſe invaders, and their ardent thirſt of vengeance; and, having ſilently made all the neceſſary preparations, he ſent to the prince of Wales a ſummons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris, but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men.[w] The unwarlike character of Charles kept prince Edward, even yet, from thinking that that monarch was in earneſt in this bold and hazardous attempt.

## ILL SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH. 1370.

It ſoon appeared what a poor return the king had received, by his diſtant conqueſts, for all the blood and treaſure expended in the quarrel, and how impoſſible it was to retain acquiſitions, in an age when no regular force could be maintained ſufficient to defend them againſt the revolt of the inhabitants, eſpecially if that danger was joined with the invaſion of a foreign enemy. Charles fell firſt upon Ponthieu, which gave the Engliſh an inlet into the heart of France; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him;[x] thoſe of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example; and the whole country was in a little time reduced to ſubmiſſion. The dukes of Berri and Anjou, brothers

to Charles, being aſſiſted by du Gueſclin, who was recalled from Spain, invaded the ſouthern provinces; and, by means of their good conduct, the favourable diſpoſitions of the people, and the ardour of the French nobility, they made every day conſiderable progreſs againſt the Engliſh. The ſtate of the prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. Chandos, the conſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in one action;[y] the captal de Buche, who ſucceeded him in that office, was taken priſoner in another;[z] and, when young Edward himſelf was obliged, by his increaſing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the Engliſh in the ſouth of France ſeemed to be menaced with total ruin.

The king, incenſed at theſe injuries, threatened to put to death all the French hoſtages who remained in his hands; but, on reflection, abſtained from that ungenerous revenge. After reſuming, by advice of parliament,[a] the vain title of king of France, he endeavoured to ſend ſuccours into Gaſcony; but all his attempts, both by ſea and land, proved unſucceſsful. The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at ſea, and taken priſoner with his whole army near Rochelle, by a fleet which the king of Caſtile had fitted out for that purpoſe.[b] Edward himſelf embarked for Bourdeaux with another army; but was ſo long detained by contrary winds that he was obliged to lay aſide the enterpriſe.[c] Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thouſand men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement: he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waſte; but, part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of du Gueſclin, who was now created conſtable of France, and who ſeems to have been the firſt conſummate general that had yet appeared in Europe, the reſt were ſcattered

and diſperſed; and the ſmall remains of the Engliſh forces, inſtead of reaching Guienne, took ſhelter in Brittany, whoſe ſovereign had embraced the alliance of England.[d] The duke of Lancaſter, ſome time after, made a like attempt with an army of twenty-five thouſand men; and marched the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux; but was ſo much haraſſed by the flying parties which attended him, that he brought not the half of his army to the place of their deſtination. Edward, from the neceſſity of his affairs, was at laſt obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy,[e] after almoſt all his ancient poſſeſſions in France had been raviſhed from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conqueſts, except Calais.

The decline of the king's life was expoſed to many mortifications, and correſponded not to the ſplendid and noiſy ſcenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. Beſides ſeeing the loſs of his foreign dominions, and being baffled in every attempt to defend them, he felt the decay of his authority at home; and experienced, from the ſharpneſs of ſome parliamentary remonſtrances, the great inconſtancy of the people, and the influence of preſent fortune [f] over all their judgments. This prince, who, during the vigour of his age, had been chiefly occupied in the purſuits of war and ambition, began, at an unſeaſonable period, to indulge himſelf in pleaſure: and, being now a widower, he attached himſelf to a lady of ſenſe and ſpirit, one Alice Pierce; who acquired a great aſcendant over him, and by her influence gave ſuch general diſguſt, that, in order to ſatisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court.[g] The indolence alſo, naturally attending old age and infirmities, had made him, in a great meaſure, reſign the adminiſtration into the hands of his ſon the duke of Lancaſter; who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the Engliſh bore to the perſon and govern-

ment of the king. Men carried their jealouſies very far againſt the duke; and, as they ſaw with much regret the death of the prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended leſt the ſucceſſion of his ſon Richard, now a minor, ſhould be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaſter, and by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, in order to ſatisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared in parliament his grandſon heir and ſucceſſor to the crown; and thereby cut off all the hopes of the duke of Lancaſter, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

## DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. 1376.

The prince of Wales, after a lingering illneſs, died on the eighth of June, in the forty-ſixth year of his age; and left a character illuſtrious for every eminent virtue, and, from his earlieſt youth till the hour he expired, unſtained by any blemiſh. His valour and military talents formed the ſmalleſt part of his merit; his generoſity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a luſtre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowiſe infected him with its vices, but on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory.

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1377.

The king ſurvived about a year this melancholy incident. England was deprived at once of both theſe princes, its chief ornament and ſupport. He expired on the twenty-firſt of June, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-firſt of his reign; and the people were then ſenſible, though too late, of the irreparable loſs which they had ſuſtained.

The Engliſh are apt to conſider with peculiar fondneſs the hiſtory of Edward III. and to eſteem his reign, as it was one of the longeſt, the moſt glorious alſo, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The aſcendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and ſuppoſed national enemy, makes them caſt their eyes on this period with great complacency, and ſanctifies every meaſure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domeſtic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, a longer interval of domeſtic peace and tranquillity than ſhe had been bleſt with in any former period, or than ſhe experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs; he made them feel his power without their daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it; his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt of their enterpriſes; and their unquiet ſpirits, directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe diſturbances to which they were naturally ſo much inclined, and which the frame of the government ſeemed ſo much to authoriſe. This was the chief benefit which reſulted from Edward's victories and conqueſts. His foreign wars were, in other reſpects, neither founded in juſtice, nor directed to any ſalutary purpoſe. His attempt againſt the king of Scotland, a minor and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of ſuperiority over that kingdom, were both unreaſonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himſelf to be too eaſily ſeduced, by the glaring proſpect of French conqueſts, from the acquiſition of a point which was practicable, and which, if attained, might really have been of laſting utility to his country and his ſucceſſors. The ſucceſs which he met with in France,

though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet, from the very nature of things, not from any unforeſeen accidents, was found, even during his lifetime, to have procured him no ſolid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is ſo dazzling to the vulgar, the animoſity of nations is ſo violent, that the fruitleſs deſolation of ſo fine a part of Europe as France is totally diſregarded by us, and is never conſidered as a blemiſh in the character or conduct of this prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate ſtate of human nature, it will commonly happen that a ſovereign of genius, ſuch as Edward, who uſually finds every thing eaſy in his domeſtic government, will turn himſelf towards military enterpriſes, where alone he meets with oppoſition, and where he has full exerciſe for his induſtry and capacity.

Edward had a numerous poſterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldeſt ſon was the heroic Edward, uſually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince eſpouſed his couſin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heir of his uncle the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was firſt married to ſir Thomas Holland, by whom ſhe had children: by the prince of Wales ſhe had a ſon Richard, who alone ſurvived his father.

The ſecond ſon of king Edward (for we paſs over ſuch as died in their childhood) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulſter, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche. Lionel eſpouſed in ſecond marriage Violante the daughter of the duke of Milan,[h] and died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity by that princeſs. Of all the family, he reſembled moſt his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third ſon was John of Gaunt, ſo called from the place of his birth. He was created duke of Lancaſter; and from him ſprang that branch which afterwards poſſeſſed the crown. The fourth ſon of this royal family was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth ſon was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of duke of Gloceſter from his nephew. In order to prevent confuſion, we ſhall always diſtinguiſh theſe two princes by the titles of York and Gloceſter, even before they were advanced to them.

There were alſo ſeveral princeſſes born to Edward by Philippa; to wit, Iſabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret; who eſpouſed, in the order of their names, Ingelram de Coucy earl of Bedford, Alphonſo king of Caſtile, John of Mountfort duke of Brittany, and John Haſtings earl of Pembroke. The princeſs Joan died at Bourdeaux before the conſummation of her marriage.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

It is remarked, by an elegant hiſtorian,[i] that conquerors, though uſually the bane of human kind, proved often, in thoſe feudal times, the moſt indulgent of ſovereigns. They ſtood moſt in need of ſupplies from their people; and, not being able to compel them by force to ſubmit to the neceſſary impoſitions, they were obliged to make them ſome compenſation by equitable laws and popular conceſſions. This remark is, in ſome meaſure, though imperfectly, juſtified by the conduct of Edward III. He took no ſteps of moment without conſulting his parliament, and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reaſon for their ſupporting his meaſures.[k] The parliament, therefore, roſe into greater conſideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time; and

even the houſe of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depreſſed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of ſome weight in the conſtitution. In the later years of Edward the king's miniſters were impeached in parliament, particularly lord Latimer, who fell a ſacrifice to the authority of the commons;[l] and they even obliged the king to baniſh his miſtreſs by their remonſtrances. Some attention was alſo paid to the election of their members; and lawyers in particular, who were at that time men of character ſomewhat inferior, were totally excluded the houſe during ſeveral parliaments.[m]

One of the moſt popular laws enacted by any prince was the ſtatute which paſſed in the twenty-fifth of this reign,[n] and which limited the caſes of high treaſon, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, conſpiring the death of the king, levying war againſt him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited, if any other caſes ſhould occur, from inflicting the penalty of treaſon without an application to parliament. The bounds of treaſon were indeed ſo much limited by this ſtatute, which ſtill remains in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, and to explain a conſpiracy for levying war againſt the king to be equivalent to a conſpiracy againſt his life; and this interpretation, ſeemingly forced, has, from the neceſſity of the caſe, been tacitly acquieſced in. It was alſo ordained that a parliament ſhould be held once a year, or oftener, if need be; a law which, like many others, was never obſerved, and loſt its authority by diſuſe.

Edward granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter; and theſe conceſſions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties: but the contrary preſumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been

in general ſomewhat arbitrary, and if the Great Charter had not been frequently violated, the parliament would never have applied for theſe frequent confirmations; which could add no force to a deed regularly obſerved, and which could ſerve to no other purpoſe than to prevent the contrary precedents from turning into a rule, and acquiring authority. It was indeed the effect of the irregular government during thoſe ages that a ſtatute which had been enacted ſome years, inſtead of acquiring, was imagined to loſe, force by time, and needed to be often renewed by recent ſtatutes of the ſame ſenſe and tenor. Hence, likewiſe, that general clauſe ſo frequent in old acts of parliament, that the ſtatutes enacted by the king's progenitors ſhould be obſerved;[p] a precaution which, if we do not conſider the circumſtances of the times, might appear abſurd and ridiculous. The frequent confirmations, in general terms, of the privileges of the church, proceeded from the ſame cauſe.

It is a clauſe in one of Edward's ſtatutes, 'that no man, of what ſtate or condition ſoever, ſhall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſherited, nor put to death, without being brought in anſwer by due proceſs[q] of the law.' This privilege was ſufficiently ſecured by a clauſe of the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the firſt chapter of the ſame ſtatute. Why then is the clauſe ſo anxiouſly, and, as we may think, ſo ſuperfluouſly, repeated? Plainly becauſe there had been ſome late infringements of it, which gave umbrage to the commons.[r]

But there is no article in which the laws are more frequently repeated during this reign, almoſt in the ſame terms, than that of purveyance, which the parliament always calls an outrageous and intolerable grievance, and the ſource of infinite damage to the people.[s] The parliament tried to aboliſh this prerogative altogether, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without

the conſent of the owners, and by changing the heinous name of purveyors, as they term it, into that of buyers.[t] But the arbitrary conduct of Edward ſtill brought back the grievance upon them, though contrary both to the Great Charter and to many ſtatutes. This diſorder was in a great meaſure derived from the ſtate of the public finances and of the kingdom, and could therefore the leſs admit of remedy. The prince frequently wanted ready money, yet his family muſt be ſubſiſted; he was, therefore, obliged to employ force and violence for that purpoſe, and to give tallies, at what rate he pleaſed, to the owners of the goods which he laid hold of. The kingdom alſo abounded ſo little in commodities, and the interior communication was ſo imperfect, that, had the owners been ſtrictly protected by law, they could eaſily have exacted any price from the king; eſpecially, in his frequent progreſſes, when he came to diſtant and poor places, where the court did not uſually reſide, and where a regular plan for ſupplying it could not eaſily be eſtabliſhed. Not only the king, but ſeveral great lords, inſiſted upon this right of purveyance.[u]

The magnificent caſtle of Windſor was built by Edward III. and his method of conducting the work may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the condition of the people in that age. Inſtead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he aſſeſſed every county in England to ſend him a certain number of maſons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.[w]

They miſtake, indeed, very much the genius of this reign, who imagine that it was not extremely arbitrary. All the high prerogatives of the crown were to the full exerted in it; but, what gave ſome conſolation, and promiſed in time ſome relief, to the people, they were always complained of by the commons: ſuch as the diſpenſing power;[x] the extenſion[y] of the foreſts; erecting monopolies;[z] exacting loans;[a] ſtopping juſtice by parti-

cular warrants;[b] the renewal of the commiſſion[c] of 'trailbaton;' preſſing men and ſhips into the public ſervice;[d] levying arbitrary and exorbitant fines;[e] extending the authority of the privy council or ſtar chamber to the deciſion of private cauſes;[f] enlarging the power of the mareſchal's and other arbitrary courts;[g] impriſoning members for freedom of ſpeech in parliament;[h] obliging people, without any rule, to ſend recruits of men at arms, archers, and hoblers, to the army.[i]

But there was no act of arbitrary power more frequently repeated in this reign than that of impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament. Though that aſſembly granted the king greater ſupplies than had ever been obtained by any of his predeceſſors, his great undertakings, and the neceſſity of his affairs, obliged him to levy ſtill more; and, after his ſplendid ſucceſs againſt France had added weight to his authority, theſe arbitrary impoſitions became almoſt annual and perpetual. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records affords numerous inſtances of this kind, in the firſt[k] year of his reign, in the thirteenth year,[l] in the fourteenth,[m] in the twentieth,[n] in the twenty-firſt,[o] in the twenty-ſecond,[p] in the twenty-fifth,[q] in the thirty-eighth,[r] in the[s] fiftieth, and in the fifty-firſt.[t]

The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleaſure. At one time he replied, to the remonſtrance made by the commons againſt it, that the impoſitions had been exacted from great neceſſity, and had been aſſented to by the prelates, earls, barons, and ſome of the commons;[u] at another, that he would adviſe with his council.[v] When the parliament deſired that a law might be enacted for the puniſhment of ſuch as levied theſe arbitrary impoſitions, he refuſed compliance.[x] In the ſubſequent year they deſired that the king might renounce this pretended prerogative; but his anſwer was, that he would levy no taxes without neceſſity for the defence of the

realm, and where he reaſonably might uſe that authority.[y] This incident paſſed a few days before his death; and theſe were, in a manner, his laſt words to his people. It would ſeem that the famous charter or ſtatute of Edward I. 'de tallagio non concedendo,' though never repealed, was ſuppoſed to have already loſt, by age, all its authority.

Theſe facts can only ſhew the practice of the times; for, as to the right, the continual remonſtrances of the commons may ſeem to prove that it rather lay on their ſide: at leaſt theſe remonſtrances ſerved to prevent the arbitrary practices of the court from becoming an eſtabliſhed part of the conſtitution. In ſo much a better condition were the privileges of the people, even during the arbitrary reign of Edward III. than during ſome ſubſequent ones, particularly thoſe of the Tudors, where no tyranny or abuſe of power ever met with any check or oppoſition, or ſo much as a remonſtrance, from parliament.

In this reign we find, according to the ſentiments of an ingenious and learned author, the firſt ſtrongly marked, and probably conteſted, diſtinction between a proclamation by the king and his privy council, and a law which had received the aſſent of the lords and commons.[z]

It is eaſy to imagine that a prince of ſo much ſenſe and ſpirit as Edward would be no ſlave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during ſome years of his minority, he afterwards withheld it; and, when the pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That aſſembly unanimouſly declared that king John could not, without a national conſent, ſubject his kingdom to a foreign power; and that they were, therefore, determined to ſupport their ſovereign againſt this unjuſt pretenſion.[a]

During this reign the ſtatute of proviſors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any preſentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and ſecuring the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on [b] by the pope. By a ſubſequent ſtatute, every perſon was outlawed who carried any cauſe by appeal to the court of Rome.[c]

The laity, at this time, ſeem to have been extremely prejudiced againſt the papal power, and even ſomewhat againſt their own clergy, becauſe of their connexions with the Roman pontiff. The parliament pretended that the uſurpations of the pope were the cauſe of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty, of the realm; were more deſtructive to it than all the wars; and were the reaſon why it contained not a third of the inhabitants and commodities which it formerly poſſeſſed: that the taxes levied by him exceeded five times thoſe which were paid to the king: that every thing was venal in that ſinful city of Rome; and that even the patrons in England had thence learned to practiſe ſimony without ſhame or remorſe.[d] At another time they petition the king to employ no churchman in any office of ſtate;[e] and they even ſpeak in plain terms of expelling by force the papal authority, and thereby providing a remedy againſt oppreſſions, which they neither could nor would any longer endure.[f] Men who talked in this ſtrain were not far from the reformation. But Edward did not think proper to ſecond all this zeal: though he paſſed the ſtatute of proviſors, he took little care of its execution; and the parliament made frequent complaints of his negligence on this head.[g] He was content with having reduced ſuch of the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics, as poſſeſſed revenues in England, to depend entirely upon him by means of that ſtatute.

As to the police of the kingdom during this period, it was certainly better than during times of faction, civil war, and diſ-

order, to which England was ſo often expoſed; yet were there ſeveral vices in the conſtitution, the bad conſequences of which all the power and vigilance of the king could not prevent. The barons, by their confederacies with thoſe of their own order, and by ſupporting and defending their retainers in every iniquity,[h] were the chief abbettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and no law could be executed againſt thoſe criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promiſe in parliament that they would not avow, retain, or ſupport, any felon or breaker of the law;[i] yet this engagement, which we may wonder to ſee exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The commons make continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other diſorders, which, they ſay, were become numberleſs in every part of the kingdom, and which they always aſcribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great.[k] The king of Cyprus, who paid a viſit to England in this reign, was robbed and ſtripped on the highway, with his whole retinue.[l] Edward himſelf contributed to this diſſolution of law, by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the ſolicitation of the courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this prerogative,[m] and remonſtrances of the commons were preſented againſt the abuſe of it;[n] but to no purpoſe. The gratifying of a powerful nobleman continued ſtill to be of more importance than the protection of the people. The king alſo granted many franchiſes, which interrupted the courſe of juſtice, and the execution of the laws.[o]

Commerce and induſtry were certainly at a very low ebb during this period. The bad police of the country alone affords a ſufficient reaſon. The only exports were wool, ſkins, hides, leather, butter, tin, lead, and ſuch unmanufactured goods, of which wool was by far the moſt conſiderable. Knyghton has aſſerted that one hundred thouſand ſacks of wool were annually ex-

ported, and ſold at twenty pounds a ſack, money of that age. But he is widely miſtaken, both in the quantity exported and in the value. In 1349 the parliament remonſtrate that the king, by an illegal impoſition of forty ſhillings on each ſack exported, had levied ſixty thouſand pounds a year;[p] which reduces the annual exports to thirty thouſand ſacks. A ſack contained twenty-ſix ſtone, and each ſtone fourteen pounds;[q] and at a medium was not valued at above five pounds a ſack,[r] that is fourteen or fifteen pounds of our preſent money. Knyghton's computation raiſes it to ſixty pounds, which is near four times the preſent price of wool in England. According to this reduced computation, the export of wool brought into the kingdom about four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of our preſent money, inſtead of ſix millions, which is an extravagant ſum. Even the former ſum is ſo high as to afford a ſuſpicion of ſome miſtake, in the computation of the parliament, with regard to the number of ſacks exported. Such miſtakes were very uſual in thoſe ages.

Edward endeavoured to introduce and promote the woollen manufacture, by giving protection and encouragement to foreign weavers,[s] and by enacting a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of Engliſh fabric.[t] The parliament prohibited the exportation of woollen goods, which was not ſo well judged, eſpecially while the exportation of unwrought wool was ſo much allowed and encouraged. A like injudicious law was made againſt the exportation of manufactured iron.[u]

It appears, from a record in the Exchequer, that in 1354 the exports of England amounted to two hundred and ninety-four thouſand one hundred and eighty-four pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and two-pence; the imports to thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy pounds three ſhillings and ſixpence, money of that time. This is a great balance, conſidering that it aroſe

wholly from the exportation of raw wool and other rough materials. The import was chiefly linen and fine cloth, and ſome wine. England ſeems to have been extremely drained at this time by Edward's foreign expeditions and foreign ſubſidies, which probably was the reaſon why the exports ſo much exceed the imports.

The firſt toll we read of in England for mending the highways was impoſed in this reign; it was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple Bar.[w]

In the firſt of Richard II. the parliament complain extremely of the decay of ſhipping during the preceding reign, and aſſert that one ſeaport formerly contained more veſſels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they aſcribe to the arbitrary ſeizure of ſhips by Edward for the ſervice of his frequent expeditions.[x] The parliament in the fifth of Richard renew the ſame complaint;[y] and we likewiſe find it made in the forty-ſixth of Edward III. So falſe is the common opinion, that this reign was favourable to commerce.

There is an order of this king, directed to the mayor and ſheriffs of London, to take up all ſhips of forty tons and upwards, to be converted into ſhips of war.

The parliament attempted the impracticable ſcheme of reducing the price of labour after the peſtilence, and alſo that of poultry.[a] A reaper, in the firſt week of Auguſt, was not allowed above two-pence a day, or near ſixpence of our preſent money; in the ſecond week a third more. A maſter carpenter was limited through the whole year to three-pence a day, a common carpenter to two-pence, money of that age.[b] It is remarkable that, in the ſame reign, the pay of a common ſoldier, an archer, was ſixpence a day; which, by the change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to near five ſhillings of our preſent money.[c] Soldiers were then inliſted only for a very ſhort

time: they lived idle all the reſt of the year, and commonly all the reſt of their lives. One ſucceſsful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ranſom of priſoners, was ſuppoſed to be a ſmall fortune to a man; which was a great allurement to enter into the ſervice.[d]

The ſtaple of wool, wool-fells, leather, and lead, was fixed by act of parliament in particular towns of England.[e] Afterwards it was removed by law to Calais. But Edward, who commonly deemed his prerogative above law, paid little regard to theſe ſtatutes; and, when the parliament remonſtrated with him on account of thoſe acts of power, he plainly told them that he would proceed in that matter as he thought proper.[f] It is not eaſy to aſſign the reaſon of this great anxiety for fixing a ſtaple; unleſs perhaps it invited foreigners to a market, when they knew beforehand that they ſhould there meet with great choice of any particular ſpecies of commodity. This policy of inviting foreigners to Calais was carried ſo far, that all Engliſh merchants were prohibited by law from exporting any Engliſh goods from the ſtaple; which was in a manner the total abandoning of all foreign navigation, except that to Calais:[g] a contrivance ſeemingly extraordinary.

It was not till the middle of this century that the Engliſh began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic,[h] nor till the middle of the ſubſequent that they ſailed to the Mediterranean.[i]

Luxury was complained of in that age, as well as in others of more refinement; and attempts were made by parliament to reſtrain it, particularly on the head of apparel, where ſurely it is the moſt obviouſly innocent and inoffenſive. No man under a hundred a year was allowed to wear gold, ſilver, or ſilk, in his clothes. Servants alſo were prohibited from eating fleſh meat or fiſh above once a day.[k] By another law it was or-

dained that no one ſhould be allowed, either for dinner or ſupper, above three diſhes in each courſe, and not above two courſes: and it is likewiſe expreſsly declared that ſouſed meat is to count as one of theſe diſhes.[l] It was eaſy to foreſee that ſuch ridiculous laws muſt prove ineffectual, and could never be executed.

The uſe of the French language in pleadings and public deeds was aboliſhed.[m] It may appear ſtrange that the nation ſhould ſo long have worn this badge of conqueſt: but the king and nobility ſeem never to have become thoroughly Engliſh, or to have forgotten their French extraction, till Edward's wars with France gave them an antipathy to that nation. Yet ſtill it was long before the uſe of the Engliſh tongue came into faſhion. The firſt Engliſh paper which we meet with in Rymer is in the year 1386, during the reign of Richard II.[n] There are Spaniſh papers in that collection of more ancient date;[o] and the uſe of the Latin and French ſtill continued.

We may judge of the ignorance of this age in geography from a ſtory told by Robert of Aveſbury. Pope Clement VI. having, in 1344, created Lewis of Spain prince of the fortunate iſlands, meaning the Canaries, then newly diſcovered, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Rome, and his retinue, were ſeized with an alarm that Lewis had been created king of England; and they immediately hurried home, in order to convey this important intelligence. Yet ſuch was the ardour for ſtudy at this time, that Speed, in his Chronicle, informs us there were then thirty thouſand ſtudents in the univerſity of Oxford alone. What was the occupation of all theſe young men? To learn very bad Latin, and ſtill worſe logic.

In 1364 the commons petitioned that, in conſideration of the preceding peſtilence, ſuch perſons as poſſeſſed manors holden of the king in chief, and had let different leaſes without ob-

taining licenſes, might continue to exerciſe the ſame power till the country were become more populous.[P] The commons were ſenſible that this ſecurity of poſſeſſion was a good means for rendering the kingdom proſperous and flouriſhing, yet durſt not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains.

There is not a reign among thoſe of the ancient Engliſh monarchs which deſerves more to be ſtudied than that of Edward III. nor one where the domeſtic tranſactions will better diſcover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then eſtabliſhed in England. The ſtruggles with regard to the validity and authority of the Great Charter were now over; the king was acknowledged to lie under ſome limitations; Edward himſelf was a prince of great capacity, not governed by favourites, not led aſtray by any unruly paſſion, ſenſible that nothing could be more eſſential to his intereſts than to keep on good terms with his people; yet, on the whole, it appears that the government at beſt was only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, or bounded by any certain undiſputed rights, which in practice were regularly obſerved. The king conducted himſelf by one ſet of principles, the barons by another, the commons by a third, the clergy by a fourth. All theſe ſyſtems of government were oppoſite and incompatible; each of them prevailed in its turn, as incidents were favourable to it. A great prince rendered the monarchical power predominant; the weakneſs of a king gave reins to the ariſtocracy; a ſuperſtitious age ſaw the clergy triumphant; the people, for whom chiefly government was inſtituted, and who chiefly deſerve conſideration, were the weakeſt of the whole. But the commons, little obnoxious to any other order, though they ſunk under the violence of tempeſts, ſilently reared their head in more peaceable times; and, while the ſtorm was brew-

ing, were courted by all ſides, and thus received ſtill ſome acceſſion to their privileges, or at worſt ſome confirmation of them.

It has been an eſtabliſhed opinion that gold coin was not ſtruck till this reign; but there has lately been found proof [q] that it is as ancient as Henry III.

RICHARD II. SUSPENDING THE DUEL BETWEEN HEREFORD & NORFOLK.

# RICHARD II

## CHAP. XVII.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY. INSURRECTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE. DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS. CIVIL COMMOTIONS. EXPULSION OR EXECUTION OF THE KING'S MINISTERS. MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER. BANISHMENT OF HENRY DUKE OF HEREFORD. RETURN OF HENRY. GENERAL INSURRECTION. KING DEPOSED AND MURDERED. HIS CHARACTER. MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

## CHAPTER XVII.

# RICHARD II.

1377....1399.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY....INSURRECTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE....DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS....CIVIL COMMOTIONS....EXPULSION OR EXECUTION OF THE KING'S MINISTERS....CABALS OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER....MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER....BANISHMENT OF HENRY DUKE OF HEREFORD....RETURN OF HENRY....GENERAL INSURRECTION....KING DEPOSED AND MURDERED....HIS CHARACTER....MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

## GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY. 1377.

THE parliament, which was ſummoned ſoon after the king's acceſſion, was both elected and aſſembled in tranquillity; and the great change, from a ſovereign of conſummate wiſdom and experience to a boy of eleven years of age, was not immediately felt by the people. The habits of order and obedience, which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward, ſtill influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Gloceſter, ſufficed to

repreſs, for a time, the turbulent ſpirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was ſo often ſubject. The dangerous ambition too of theſe princes themſelves was checked by the plain and undeniable title of Richard; by the declaration of it made in parliament; and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young ſovereign upon the throne. The different characters alſo of theſe three princes rendered them a counterpoiſe to each other; and it was natural to expect that any dangerous deſigns, which might be formed by one brother, would meet with oppoſition from the others. Lancaſter, whoſe age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the aſcendant among them, though his integrity ſeemed not proof againſt great temptations, was neither of an enterpriſing ſpirit, nor of a popular and engaging temper. York was indolent, unactive, and of ſlender capacity. Gloceſter was turbulent, bold, and popular; but, being the youngeſt of the family, was reſtrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumſtance in the domeſtic ſituation of England which might endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehenſions to the lovers of their country.

But, as Edward, though he had fixed the ſucceſſion to the crown, had taken no care to eſtabliſh a plan of government during the minority of his grandſon, it behoved the parliament to ſupply this defect; and the houſe of commons diſtinguiſhed themſelves by taking the lead on the occaſion. This houſe, which had been riſing to conſideration during the whole courſe of the late reign, naturally received an acceſſion of power during the minority; and, as it was now becoming a ſcene of buſineſs, the members choſe, for the firſt time, a ſpeaker, who might preſerve order in their debates, and maintain thoſe forms which are requiſite in all numerous aſſemblies. Peter de la Mare was

the man pitched on; the ſame perſon that had been impriſoned and detained in cuſtody by the late king, for his freedom of ſpeech in attacking the miſtreſs and the miniſters of that prince. But, though this election diſcovered a ſpirit of liberty in the commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on theſe miniſters and on Alice Pierce,[r] they were ſtill too ſenſible of their great inferiority to aſſume at firſt any immediate ſhare in the adminiſtration of government, or the care of the king's perſon. They were content to apply by petition to the lords for that purpoſe, and deſire them both to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public buſineſs, and to chooſe men of virtuous life and converſation, who might inſpect the conduct and education of the young prince. The lords complied with the firſt part of this requeſt, and elected the biſhops of London, Carliſle, and Saliſbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, ſir Richard de Stafford, ſir Henry le Scrope, ſir John Devereux, and ſir Hugh Segrave; to whom they gave authority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary courſe of buſineſs.[s] But, as to the regulation of the king's houſehold, they declined interpoſing in an office which, they ſaid, both was invidious in itſelf, and might prove diſagreeable to his majeſty.

The commons, as they acquired more courage, ventured to proceed a ſtep farther in their applications. They preſented a petition, in which they prayed the king to check the prevailing cuſtom among the barons of forming illegal confederacies, and ſupporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and juſtice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging anſwer to this petition. But another part of their application, that all the great officers ſhould, during the king's minority, be appointed by parliament, which ſeemed to require the concurrence of the commons as well as that of the upper houſe in the nomination, was not complied with: the

lords alone aſſumed the power of appointing theſe officers: the commons tacitly acquieſced in the choice; and thought that, for the preſent, they themſelves had proceeded a ſufficient length, if they but advanced their pretenſions, though rejected, of interpoſing in theſe more important matters of ſtate.

On this foot then the government ſtood. The adminiſtration was conducted entirely in the king's name; no regency was expreſsly appointed; the nine counſellors and the great officers, named by the peers, did their duty, each in his reſpective department; and the whole ſyſtem was for ſome years kept together by the ſecret authority of the king's uncles, eſpecially of the duke of Lancaſter, who was in reality the regent.

The parliament was diſſolved, after the commons had repreſented the neceſſity of their being reaſſembled once every year, as appointed by law; and after having elected two citizens as their treaſurers, to receive and diſburſe the produce of two fifteenths and tenths, which they had voted to the crown. In the other parliaments, called during the minority, the commons ſtill diſcover a ſtrong ſpirit of freedom, and a ſenſe of their own authority, which, without breeding any diſturbance, tended to ſecure their independence and that of the people.'

Edward had left his grandſon involved in many dangerous wars. The pretenſions of the duke of Lancaſter to the crown of Caſtile made that kingdom ſtill perſevere in hoſtilities againſt England. Scotland, whoſe throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the firſt prince of that family, maintained ſuch cloſe connexions with France, that war with one crown almoſt inevitably produced hoſtilities with the other. The French monarch, whoſe prudent conduct had acquired him the ſurname of 'wiſe,' as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king: but his genius, which was not

naturally enterpriſing, led him not, at preſent, to give any diſturbance to his neighbours; and he laboured, beſides, under many difficulties at home, which it was neceſſary for him to ſurmount before he could think of making conqueſts in a foreign country. England was maſter of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; had lately acquired poſſeſſion of Cherbourg from the ceſſion of the king of Navarre, and of Breſt from that of the duke of Brittany;[u] and, having thus an eaſy entrance into France from every quarter, was able, even in its preſent ſituation, to give diſturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the Engliſh from theſe important poſts, he died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a minor ſon, who bore the name of Charles VI.

Meanwhile the war with France was carried on in a manner ſomewhat languid, and produced no enterpriſe of great luſtre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garriſon, ſet fire to Boulogne.[x] The duke of Lancaſter conducted an army into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a ſubſequent year the duke of Gloceſter marched out of Calais with a body of two thouſand cavalry, and eight thouſand infantry; and ſcrupled not, with his ſmall army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champaigne, the Brie, the Beauſſe, the Gatinois, the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany.[y] The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more conſiderable army, came within ſight of him; but the French were ſo overawed by the former ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, that no ſuperiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the duke of Brittany, ſoon after the arrival of theſe ſuccours, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterpriſe alſo proved

in the iſſue unſucceſsful, and made no durable impreſſion upon the enemy.

The expenſes of theſe armaments, and the uſual want of economy attending a minority, much exhauſted the Engliſh treaſury, and obliged the parliament, beſides making ſome alterations in the council, to impoſe a new and unuſual tax of three groats on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent ſhould relieve the poor by an equitable compenſation. This impoſition produced a mutiny, which was ſingular in its circumſtances. All hiſtory abounds with examples where the great tyranniſe over the meaner ſort; but here the loweſt populace roſe againſt their rulers, committed the moſt cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppreſſions.

The faint dawn of the arts and of good government, in that age, had excited the minds of the populace, in different ſtates of Europe, to wiſh for a better condition, and to murmur againſt thoſe chains which the laws, enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry, had ſo long impoſed upon them. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the mutiny of the peaſants in France, were the natural effects of this growing ſpirit of independence; and the report of theſe events being brought into England, where perſonal ſlavery, as we learn from Froiſſard,[z] was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an inſurrection. One John Ball alſo, a ſeditious preacher, who affected low popularity, went about the country, and inculcated on his audience the principles of the firſt origin of mankind from one common ſtock; their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature; the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions; and the abuſes which had ariſen from the degradation of the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies, and the aggrandizement of a few inſolent rulers.[a] Theſe doctrines,

THE COLLECTOR OF THE POLL-TAX
MURDER'D BY WAT TYLER.

ſo agreeable to the populace, and ſo conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude; and ſcattered the ſparks of that ſedition which the preſent tax raiſed into a conflagration.

## INSURRECTION OF THE PEOPLE. 1381

THE impoſition of three groats a head had been farmed out to tax gatherers in each county, who levied the money on the people with rigour; and the clauſe of making the rich eaſe their poorer neighbours of ſome ſhare of the burden, being ſo vague and undeterminate, had, doubtleſs, occaſioned many partialities, and made the people more ſenſible of the unequal lot which fortune had aſſigned them in the diſtribution of her favours. The firſt diſorder was raiſed by a blackſmith in a village of Eſſex. The tax gatherers came to this man's ſhop while he was at work; and they demanded payment for his daughter, whom he aſſerted to be below the age aſſigned by the ſtatute. One of theſe fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the ſame time laid hold of the maid; which the father reſenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The byſtanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms; the whole neighbourhood joined in the ſedition; the flame ſpread in an inſtant over the county; it ſoon propagated itſelf into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surrey, Suſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the leaſt warning of the danger, the diſorder had grown beyond control or oppoſition; the populace had ſhaken off all regard to their former maſters; and, being headed

by the moſt audacious and criminal of their aſſociates, who aſſumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed every where the moſt outrageous violence on ſuch of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The mutinous populace, amounting to a hundred thouſand men, aſſembled on Blackheath, under their leaders Tyler and Straw; and, as the princeſs of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, paſſed through the midſt of them, they inſulted her attendants; and ſome of the moſt inſolent among them, to ſhew their purpoſe of levelling all mankind, forced kiſſes from her; but they allowed her to continue her journey without attempting any farther injury.[c] They ſent a meſſage to the king, who had taken ſhelter in the tower; and they deſired a conference with him. Richard ſailed down the river in a barge for that purpoſe; but, on his approaching the ſhore, he ſaw ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he put back and returned to that fortreſs.[d] The ſeditious peaſants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the duke of Lancaſter's palace of the Savoy; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of; expreſſed a particular animoſity againſt the lawyers and attornies; and pillaged the warehouſes [e] of the rich merchants. A great body of them quartered themſelves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the tower, which was weakly garriſoned and ill ſupplied with proviſions, was obliged to go out to them and aſk their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of ſlavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impoſt, and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices due by villanage. Theſe requeſts, which, though extremely reaſonable in themſelves, the nation was not ſuffici-

ently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with; charters to that purpoſe were granted them; and this body immediately diſperſed, and returned to their ſeveral homes.[f]

During this tranſaction another body of the rebels had broken into the tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury the primate and chancellor, with ſir Robert Hales the treaſurer, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction; and continued their ravages[g] in the city. The king, paſſing along Smithfield, very ſlenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler at the head of theſe rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he ſhould give them a ſignal, (after which they were to murder all the company except the king himſelf, whom they were to detain priſoner) feared not to come into the midſt of the royal retinue. He there behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his inſolence, drew his ſword, and ſtruck him ſo violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himſelf, had undoubtedly periſhed on the ſpot, had it not been for an extraordinary preſence of mind which Richard diſcovered on the occaſion. He ordered his company to ſtop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and, accoſting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he aſked them 'What is the meaning of this diſorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have loſt your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader.' The populace, overawed by his preſence, implicitly followed him. He led them into the fields, to prevent any diſorder which might have ariſen by their continuing in the city: being there joined by ſir Robert Knolles, and a body of well-armed veteran ſoldiers, who had been ſecretly

drawn together, he ſtrictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter upon them; and he peaceably diſmiſſed them with the ſame charters which had been granted to their fellows.[h] Soon after the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thouſand ſtrong.[i] It then behoved all the rebels to ſubmit. The charters of enfranchiſement and pardon were revoked by parliament; the low people were reduced to the ſame ſlaviſh condition as before; and ſeveral of the ringleaders were ſeverely puniſhed for the late diſorders. Some were even executed without proceſs or form of law.[k] It was pretended that the intentions of the mutineers had been to ſeize the king's perſon; to carry him through England at their head; to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the biſhops and prieſts, except the mendicant friars; to diſpatch afterwards the king himſelf; and, having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleaſure.[l] It is not impoſſible but many of them, in the delirium of their firſt ſucceſs, might have formed ſuch projects; but, of all the evils incident to human ſociety, the inſurrections of the populace, when not raiſed and ſupported by perſons of higher quality, are the leaſt to be dreaded; the miſchiefs conſequent to an abolition of all rank and diſtinction become ſo great, that they are immediately felt, and ſoon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

A youth of ſixteen, (which was at this time the king's age) who had diſcovered ſo much courage, preſence of mind, and addreſs, and had ſo dexterouſly eluded the violence of this tumult, raiſed great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope that he would, in the courſe of his life, equal the glories which had ſo uniformly attended his father and his grand-

father in all their undertakings: but, in proportion as Richard advanced in years, theſe hopes vaniſhed; and his want of capacity, at leaſt of ſolid judgment, appeared in every enterpriſe which he attempted. The Scots, ſenſible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been ſent over, with a body of fifteen hundred men at arms, to ſupport them in their incurſions againſt the Engliſh. The danger was now deemed by the king's uncles ſomewhat ſerious; and a numerous army of ſixty thouſand men was levied, and they marched into Scotland with Richard himſelf at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a force; they abandoned without ſcruple their country to be pillaged and deſtroyed by the enemy; and, when de Vienne expreſſed his ſurpriſe at this plan of operations, they told him that all their cattle was driven into the foreſts and faſtneſſes; that their houſes and other goods were of ſmall value; and that they well knew how to compenſate any loſſes, which they might ſuſtain in that reſpect, by making an incurſion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and the eaſt coaſt, the Scots, to the number of thirty thouſand men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the weſt; and, carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſhire, collected a rich booty, and then returned in tranquillity to their own country. Richard meanwhile advanced towards Edinburgh, and deſtroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each ſide of him; he reduced that city to aſhes; he treated in the ſame manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries: but, when he was adviſed to march towards the weſt coaſt, to await there the return of the enemy, and to take revenge on them for their devaſtations, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, outweighed every

conſideration; and he led back his army, without effecting any thing by all theſe mighty preparations. The Scots, ſoon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very uſeleſs in that deſultory kind of war to which they confined themſelves, treated their allies ſo ill, that the French returned home, much diſguſted with the country, and with the manners of its inhabitants.[m] And the Engliſh, though they regretted the indolence and levity of their king, ſaw themſelves for the future ſecured againſt any dangerous invaſion from that quarter.

But it was ſo material an intereſt of the French court to wreſt the ſeaport towns from the hands of their enemy, that they reſolved to attempt it by ſome other expedient, and found no means ſo likely as an invaſion of England itſelf. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluiſe; for the Flemings were now in alliance with them. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterpriſe; the Engliſh were kept in alarm; great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders; and, though the diſperſion of the French ſhips by a ſtorm, and the taking of many of them by the Engliſh before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the preſent danger, the king and council were fully ſenſible that this perilous ſituation might every moment return upon them.[n]

There were two circumſtances, chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of ſuch attempts. The one was the abſence of the duke of Lancaſter, who had carried into Spain the flower of the Engliſh military force, in proſecution of his vain claim to the crown of Caſtile; an enterpriſe in which, after ſome promiſing ſucceſs, he was finally diſappointed: the other was the violent diſſenſions and diſorders which had taken place in the Engliſh government.

The ſubjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloceſter, a prince of ambition and

genius, though it was not unſuitable to his years and ſlender capacity, was extremely diſagreeable to his violent temper; and he ſoon attempted to ſhake off the yoke impoſed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of diſſolute manners, had acquired an entire aſcendant over him, and governed him with an abſolute authority. The king ſet ſo little bounds to his affection, that he firſt created his favourite marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire ſovereignty for life of that iſland.[o] He gave him in marriage his couſin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci earl of Bedford; but ſoon after he permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian,[p] with whom he had become enamoured. Theſe public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the minion; all favours paſſed through his hands; acceſs to the king could only be obtained by his mediation; and Richard ſeemed to take no pleaſure in royal authority, but ſo far as it enabled him to load with favours and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

## DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS. 1386.

The jealouſy of power immediately produced an animoſity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the uſual complaints againſt the inſolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received, in every part of the kingdom. Moubray earl of Nottingham, the mareſchal, Fitz Alan earl of Arundel, Piercy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Saliſbury, Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all connected with

each other, and with the princes, by friendſhip or alliance, and ſtill more by their common antipathy to thoſe who had eclipſed them in the king's favour and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the perſonal character of the prince, they ſcorned to ſubmit to his miniſters; and the method which they took to redreſs the grievances complained of well ſuited the violence of the age, and proves the deſperate extremities to which every oppoſition was ſure to be inſtantly carried.

Michael de la Pole, the preſent chancellor, and lately created earl of Suffolk, was the ſon of an eminent merchant; but had riſen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III; had acquired the friendſhip of that monarch; and was eſteemed the perſon of greateſt experience and capacity among thoſe who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's ſecret council. The duke of Gloceſter, who had the houſe of commons at his devotion, impelled them to exerciſe that power, which they ſeem firſt to have aſſumed againſt lord Latimer during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment againſt the chancellor was carried up by them to the houſe of peers, which was no leſs at his devotion. The king foreſaw the tempeſt preparing againſt him and his miniſters. After attempting in vain to rouſe the Londoners to his defence, he withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament ſent a deputation, inviting him to return, and threatening that, if he perſiſted in abſenting himſelf, they would immediately diſſolve, and leave the nation, though at that time in imminent danger of a French invaſion, without any ſupport or ſupply for its defence. At the ſame time a member was encouraged to call for the record containing the parliamentary depoſition of Edward II; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reaſon to expect from them. The king, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, was content to ſtipulate that,

except finiſhing the preſent impeachment againſt Suffolk, no attack ſhould be made upon any other of his miniſters; and on that condition he returned to the parliament.

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk, than the frivoloufneſs of the crimes which his enemies, in the preſent plenitude of their power, thought proper to object againſt him.' It was alleged that, being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to conſult the king's profit, he had purchaſed lands of the crown below their true value; that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of four hundred marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was aſſigned upon the cuſtoms of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income; that, having obtained for his ſon the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly poſſeſſed by a Frenchman, an enemy and a ſchiſmatic, and a new prior being at the ſame time named by the pope, he had refuſed to admit this perſon, whoſe title was not legal, till he made a compoſition with his ſon, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchaſed, from one Tydeman of Limborch, an old and forfeited annuity of fifty pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that bad debt; and that, when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year to ſupport the dignity of that title. Even the proof of theſe articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient upon the trial. It appeared that Suffolk had made no purchaſe from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity.' It is almoſt needleſs to add that he was condemned, notwithſtanding his defence; and that he was deprived of his office.

Glocester and his aſſociates obſerved their ſtipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his miniſters; but they immedi-

ately attacked himſelf and his royal dignity, and framed a commiſſion after the model of thoſe which had been attempted almoſt in every reign ſince that of Richard I, and which had always been attended with extreme confuſion.[u] By this commiſſion, which was ratified by parliament, a council of fourteen perſons was appointed, all of Gloceſter's faction, except Nevil archbiſhop of York; the ſovereign power was transferred to theſe men for a twelvemonth; the king, who had now reached the twenty-firſt year of his age, was in reality dethroned; the ariſtocracy was rendered ſupreme; and, though the term of the commiſſion was limited, it was eaſy to foreſee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wreſted from thoſe graſping hands to which it was once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to ſubmit; he ſigned the commiſſion which violence had extorted from him; he took an oath never to infringe it; and, though at the end of the ſeſſion he publicly entered a proteſt, that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithſtanding his late conceſſion, ſhould ſtill be deemed entire and unimpaired,[x] the new commiſſioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exerciſe of their authority.

## CIVIL COMMOTIONS. 1387.

THE king, thus diſpoſſeſſed of royal power, was ſoon ſenſible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favourites and miniſters, who were as yet allowed to remain about his perſon, failed not to aggravate the injury, which, without any demerit on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itſelf ſufficiently inclined to ſeek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of revenging himſelf on thoſe who had invaded it. As the houſe of commons appeared now of

weight in the conſtitution, he ſecretly tried ſome expedients for procuring a favourable election. He founded ſome of the ſheriffs, who, being at that time both the returning officers and magiſtrates of great power in the counties, had naturally conſiderable influence in elections:[y] but, as moſt of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority, or during the courſe of the preſent commiſſion, he found them, in general, averſe to his enterpriſe. The ſentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favourable to him. He met, at Nottingham, ſir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, ſir Robert Belknappe, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, ſir John Cary, chief baron of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior juſtices, and Lockton, ſerjeant at law; and he propoſed to them ſome queries, which theſe lawyers, either from the influence of his authority, or of reaſon, made no ſcruple of anſwering in the way he deſired. They declared that the late commiſſion was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who neceſſitated and compelled him were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe were equally criminal who ſhould perſevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of diſſolving parliaments at pleaſure; that the parliament, while it ſits, muſt firſt proceed upon the king's buſineſs; and that this aſſembly cannot, without his conſent, impeach any of his miniſters and judges.[z] Even according to our preſent ſtrict maxims with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all theſe determinations, except the two laſt, appear juſtifiable; and, as the great privileges of the commons, particularly that of impeachment, were hitherto new, and ſupported by few precedents, there want not plauſible reaſons to juſtify theſe opinions of the judges.[a] They ſigned, therefore, their anſwer to the king's queries before the archbiſhops of York and Dublin, the

biſhops of Durham, Chicheſter, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other counſellors of inferior quality.

The duke of Gloceſter and his adherents ſoon got intelligence of this ſecret conſultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They ſaw the king's intentions, and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As ſoon as he came to London, which they knew was well diſpoſed to their party, they ſecretly aſſembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringay park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his miniſters were not able to reſiſt. They ſent him a meſſage by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the perſons who had ſeduced him by their pernicious counſel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, ſhould be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his preſence, armed, and attended with armed followers; and they accuſed, by name, the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, ſir Robert Treſilian, and ſir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the ſtate. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The perſons accuſed, and all the other obnoxious miniſters, had withdrawn, or had concealed themſelves.

## KING'S MINISTERS EXPELLED OR EXECUTED. 1388.

THE duke of Ireland fled to Cheſhire, and levied ſome forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Gloceſter encountered him in Oxfordſhire with much ſuperior forces; routed him, diſperſed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. The lords then appeared at London

with an army of forty thouſand men; and, having obliged the king to ſummon a parliament which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by obſerving a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers; men whoſe combined power was able at any time to ſhake the throne; the duke of Gloceſter, the king's uncle; the earl of Derby, ſon of the duke of Lancaſter; the earl of Arundel; the earl of Warwick; and the earl of Nottingham, mareſchal of England; entered before the parliament an accuſation or appeal, as it was called, againſt the five counſellors whom they had already accuſed before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not aſhamed to impoſe an oath on all their members, by which they bound themſelves to live and die with the lords appellants, and to defend them againſt all oppoſition with their lives and fortunes.[b]

The other proceedings were well ſuited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge, conſiſting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants; and, as none of the accuſed counſellors, except ſir Nicholas Brembre, was in cuſtody, the reſt were cited to appear; and, upon their abſenting themſelves, the houſe of peers, after a very ſhort interval, without hearing a witneſs, without examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared them guilty of high treaſon. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial. The peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very ſummary manner, ſentence of death upon him; and he was executed, together with ſir Robert Treſilian, who had been diſcovered and taken in the interval.

It would be tedious to recite the whole charge delivered in againſt the five counſellors, which is to be met with in ſeveral collections.[c] It is ſufficient to obſerve, in general, that, if we

reaſon upon the ſuppoſition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the commiſſion extorted by the duke of Gloceſter and his aſſociates, and that the king's perſon was afterwards detained in cuſtody by rebels, many of the articles will appear, not only to imply no crime in the duke of Ireland and the miniſters, but to aſcribe to them actions which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of theſe miniſters before that commiſſion, which ſubverted the conſtitution, and annihilated all juſtice and legal authority, are vague and general; ſuch as their engroſſing the king's favour, keeping his barons at a diſtance from him, obtaining unreaſonable grants for themſelves or their creatures, and diſſipating the public treaſure by uſeleſs expenſes. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act;[d] no breach of any ſtatute; and their adminiſtration may therefore be concluded to have been ſo far innocent and inoffenſive. All the diſorders indeed ſeem to have proceeded, not from any violation of the laws, or any miniſterial tyranny, but merely from a rivalſhip of power; which the duke of Gloceſter and the great nobility, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmoſt extremity againſt their opponents, without any regard to reaſon, juſtice, or humanity.

But theſe were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of the party. All the other judges, who had ſigned the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favour, baniſhed to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the king's miniſters, as their excuſe. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, ſir James Berners, and John Saliſbury, were alſo tried and condemned for high treaſon, merely becauſe they had attempted to defeat the late commiſſion: but the life of the

latter was ſpared. The fate of ſir Simon Burley was more ſevere. This gentleman was much beloved for his perſonal merit, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many honourable actions,[e] was created knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard, by the choice of the late king and of the Black Prince; he had attended his maſter from the earlieſt infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him; yet all theſe conſiderations could not ſave him from falling a victim to Gloceſter's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Richard. His queen too (for he was already married to the ſiſter of the emperor Winceſlaus, king of Bohemia) intereſted herſelf in behalf of Burley. She remained three hours on her knees before the duke of Gloceſter, pleading for that gentleman's life; but, though ſhe was become extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of 'the good queen Ann,' her petition was ſternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant.

The parliament concluded this violent ſcene by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on theſe trials to be treaſon, ſhould ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were ſtill to conſider the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their deciſions. The houſe of lords ſeem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged the principle, that they themſelves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and commons, had eſtabliſhed in their legiſlative.[f] It was alſo enacted that every one ſhould ſwear to the perpetual maintenance and ſupport of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts, paſſed during this parliament. The archbiſhop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a farther ſecurity to theſe violent tranſactions.

It might naturally be expected that the king, being reduced to ſuch ſlavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared ſo unable to defend his ſervants from the cruel effects of their reſentment, would long remain in ſubjection to them, and never would recover the royal power without the moſt violent ſtruggles and convulſions: but the event proved contrary. In leſs than a twelvemonth Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and houſehold, he reſolved to exerciſe his right of ſovereignty; and, when no one ventured to contradict ſo reaſonable an intention, he deprived Fitz Alan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and beſtowed that high office on William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter; the biſhop of Hereford was diſplaced from the office of treaſurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the duke of Gloceſter and the earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council: and no oppoſition was made to theſe great changes. The hiſtory of this reign is imperfect, and little to be depended on, except where it is ſupported by public records; and it is not eaſy for us to aſſign the reaſon of this unexpected event. Perhaps ſome ſecret animoſities, naturally to be expected in that ſituation, had creeped in among the great men, and had enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had loſt them the affections of the people, who ſoon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. However this may be, Richard exerciſed with moderation the authority which he had reſumed. He ſeemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles [8] and the other great men, of whom he had ſo much reaſon to complain: he never attempted to recall from baniſhment the duke of Ireland, whom he found ſo obnoxious to them:

he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon which the parliament had paſſed for all offences: and he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting ſome ſubſidies which had been granted him; a remarkable and almoſt ſingular inſtance of ſuch generoſity.

After this compoſure of domeſtic differences, and this reſtoration of the government to its natural ſtate, there paſſes an interval of eight years, which affords not many remarkable events. The duke of Lancaſter returned from Spain; having reſigned to his rival all pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile upon payment of a large ſum of money,[h] and having married his daughter Philippa to the king of Portugal. The authority of this prince ſerved to counterbalance that of the duke of Gloceſter, and ſecured the power of Richard; who paid great court to his eldeſt uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger. He made a ceſſion to him for life of the duchy of Guienne,[i] which the inclinations and changeable humour of the Gaſcons had reſtored to the Engliſh government; but, as they remonſtrated loudly againſt this deed, it was finally, with the duke's conſent, revoked by Richard.[k] There happened an incident which produced a diſſenſion between Lancaſter and his two brothers. After the death of the Spaniſh princeſs he eſpouſed Catharine Swineford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whoſe alliance York and Gloceſter thought the dignity of their family much injured: but the king gratified his uncle, by paſſing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had born him before marriage, and by creating the eldeſt earl of Somerſet.[l]

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, ſtill continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little

vigour, by reaſon of the weakneſs of all parties. The French war was ſcarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalſhip between the two martial families of Piercy and Douglas than from any national quarrel. A fierce battle, or ſkirmiſh, was fought at Otterborne;[m] in which young Piercy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, from his impetuous valour, was taken priſoner, and Douglas ſlain; and the victory remained undecided.[n] Some inſurrections of the Iriſh obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered, in ſome degree, by this enterpriſe, his character of courage, which had ſuffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. At laſt the Engliſh and French courts began to think in earneſt of a laſting peace; but found it ſo difficult to adjuſt their oppoſite pretenſions, that they were content to eſtabliſh a truce of twenty-five years.[o] Breſt and Cherbourg were reſtored; the former to the duke of Brittany, the latter to the king of Navarre: both parties were left in poſſeſſion of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: and, to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Iſabella, the daughter of Charles.[p] This princeſs was only ſeven years of age; but the king agreed to ſo unequal a match, chiefly that he might fortify himſelf by this alliance againſt the enterpriſes of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconſtancy of his barons.

The adminiſtration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, ſullied by any unpopular act, except the ſeizing of the charter of London,[q] which was ſoon after reſtored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his perſonal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a good meaſure, unexceptionable. Indolent, pro-

fuſe, addicted to low pleaſures, he ſpent his whole time in feaſting and jollity; and diſſipated, in idle ſhew, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to ſee him employ in enterpriſes directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank by admitting all men to his familiarity; and he was not ſenſible that their acquaintance with the qualities of his mind was not able to impreſs them with the reſpect, which he neglected to preſerve from his birth and ſtation. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his half brothers, were his chief confidants and favourites; and, though he never devoted himſelf to them with ſo profuſe an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the duke of Ireland, it was eaſy for men to ſee that every grace paſſed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himſelf a mere cypher in the government. The ſmall regard which the public bore to his perſon diſpoſed them to murmur againſt his adminiſtration, and to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the diſcontented or ambitious grandees ſuggeſted to them.

## CABALS OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER. 1397.

Glocester ſoon perceived the advantages which this diſſolute conduct gave him; and, finding that both reſentment and jealouſy, on the part of his nephew, ſtill prevented him from acquiring any aſcendant over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himſelf on thoſe who eclipſed him in favour and authority. He ſeldom appeared at court or in council; he never declared his opinion but in order to diſapprove of the meaſures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendſhip of every man, whom diſappointment or private reſentment had rendered

an enemy to the adminiſtration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the Engliſh, who breathed nothing but war againſt that hoſtile nation; and Gloceſter took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this ſubject. Forgetting the misfortunes which attended the Engliſh arms during the latter years of Edward, he made an invidious compariſon between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the preſent, and he lamented that Richard ſhould have degenerated ſo much from the heroic virtues by which his father and his grandfather were diſtinguiſhed. The military men were inflamed with a deſire of war, when they heard him talk of the ſignal victories formerly obtained, and of the eaſy prey which might be made of French riches by the ſuperior valour of the Engliſh; the populace readily embraced the ſame ſentiments; and all men exclaimed that this prince, whoſe counſels were ſo much neglected, was the true ſupport of Engliſh honour, and alone able to raiſe the nation to its former power and ſplendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immenſe riches, his high office of conſtable;[r] all theſe advantages, not a little aſſiſted by his want of court favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his miniſters.

Froiſſard,[s] a contemporary writer and very impartial, but whoſe credit is ſomewhat impaired by his want of exactneſs in material facts, aſcribes to the duke of Gloceſter more deſperate views, and ſuch as were totally incompatible with the government and domeſtic tranquillity of the nation. According to that hiſtorian, he propoſed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer earl of Marche, whom Richard had declared his ſucceſſor, to give him immediate poſſeſſion of the throne, by the depoſition of a prince ſo unworthy of power and authority: and, when Mortimer declined the project, he reſolved to make a partition of the kingdom be-

tween himſelf, his two brothers, and the earl of Arundel; and entirely to diſpoſſeſs Richard of the crown. The king, it is ſaid, being informed of theſe deſigns, ſaw that either his own ruin or that of Gloceſter was inevitable; and he reſolved, by a haſty blow, to prevent the execution of ſuch deſtructive projects. This is certain, that Gloceſter, by his own confeſſion, had often affected to ſpeak contemptuouſly of the king's perſon and government; had deliberated concerning the lawfulneſs of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even born part in a ſecret conference, where his depoſition was propoſed, and talked of, and determined.[t] But it is reaſonable to think that his ſchemes were not ſo far advanced as to make him reſolve on putting them immediately in execution. The danger, probably, was ſtill too diſtant to render a deſperate remedy entirely neceſſary for the ſecurity of government.

But, whatever opinion we may form of the danger ariſing from Gloceſter's conſpiracies, his averſion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, puſhed him to provide for his own ſafety, by puniſhing the traiterous deſigns of his uncle. The reſentment againſt his former acts of violence revived; the ſenſe of his refractory and uncompliant behaviour was ſtill recent; and a man, whoſe ambition had once uſurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful ſervants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity, of renewing the ſame criminal enterpriſes. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: he ordered Gloceſter to be unexpectedly arreſted; to be hurried on board a ſhip which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone, by reaſon of his numerous partiſans, he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody.[u] The earls of Arundel and Warwick were ſeized at the ſame time. The malcontents, ſo ſuddenly deprived of their

leaders, were aſtoniſhed and overawed; and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaſter and York in thoſe meaſures, together with the earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldeſt ſons of theſe princes,[x] bereaved them of all poſſibility of reſiſtance.

A parliament was immediately ſummoned at Weſtminſter; and the king doubted not to find the peers, and ſtill more the commons, very compliant with his will. This houſe had in a former parliament given him very ſenſible proofs[y] of their attachment; and the preſent ſuppreſſion of Gloceſter's party made him ſtill more aſſured of a favourable election. As a farther expedient for that purpoſe, he is alſo ſaid to have employed the influence of the ſheriffs; a practice which, though not unuſual, gave umbrage, but which the eſtabliſhed authority of that aſſembly rendered afterwards ſtill more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the parliament paſſed whatever acts the king was pleaſed to dictate to them;[z] they annulled for ever the commiſſion which uſurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treaſonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any ſimilar commiſſion;[a] they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's miniſters, and which that parliament who paſſed them, and the whole nation, had ſworn inviolably to maintain; and they declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free conſent of the king. Though Richard, after he reſumed the government, and lay no longer under conſtraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity, this circumſtance ſeemed not, in their eyes, to merit any conſideration. Even a particular pardon, granted ſix years after to the earl of Arundel, was annulled by parliament; on pretence that it had been procured by ſurpriſe, and that the king was not then fully appriſed of the degree of guilt incurred by that nobleman.

The commons then preferred an impeachment againſt Fitz Alan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accuſed him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commiſſion, and in attainting the king's miniſters. The primate pleaded guilty; but, as he was protected by the eccleſiaſtical privileges, the king was ſatisfied with a ſentence which baniſhed him the kingdom and ſequeſtered his temporalities.[b] An appeal, or accuſation, was preſented againſt the duke of Gloceſter, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerſet, Saliſbury, and Nottingham, together with the lords Spencer and Scrope; and they were accuſed of the ſame crimes which had been imputed to the archbiſhop, as well as of their appearance againſt the king in a hoſtile manner at Haringay park. The earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wiſely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but, his plea being overruled, he was condemned and executed.[c] The earl of Warwick, who was alſo convicted of high treaſon, was, on account of his ſubmiſſive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual baniſhment in the Iſle of Man. No new acts of treaſon were imputed to either of theſe noblemen. The only crimes, for which they were condemned, were the old attempts againſt the crown, which ſeemed to be obliterated, both by the diſtance of time and by repeated pardons.[d] The reaſons of this method of proceeding it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conſpiracies of Gloceſter ſeem certain from his own confeſſion: but perhaps the king and miniſtry had not at that time in their hands any ſatisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps an inquiry into theſe conſpiracies would have involved in the guilt ſome of thoſe great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was neceſſary to

cover from all imputation; or perhaps the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, and was only ſolicitous by any means to enſure ſucceſs in theſe proſecutions. This point, like many others in ancient hiſtory, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

## MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER.

A WARRANT was iſſued to the earl mareſchal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloceſter, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for anſwer, that the duke had died ſuddenly of an apoplexy in that fortreſs. Nothing could be more ſuſpicious, from the time, than the circumſtances of that prince's death. It became immediately the general opinion that he was murdered by orders from his nephew; in the ſubſequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in parliament that he had been ſuffocated with pillows by his keepers;[e] and it appeared that the king, apprehenſive left the public trial and execution of ſo popular a prince, and ſo near a relation, might prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this baſe method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing, his revenge upon him. Both parties, in their ſucceſſive triumphs, ſeem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adverſaries; and neither of them were aware that, by imitating, they indirectly juſtified, as far as it lay in their power, all the illegal violence of the oppoſite party.

This ſeſſion concluded with the creation or advancement of ſeveral peers: the earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerſet, marquis

of Dorſet; lord Spenſer, earl of Gloceſter; Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter; William Scrope, earl of Wiltſhire.[f] The parliament, after a ſeſſion of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewſbury. The king, before the departure of the members, exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance and eſtabliſhment of all their acts; an oath ſimilar to that which had formerly been required by the duke of Gloceſter and his party, and which had already proved ſo vain and fruitleſs.

Both king and parliament met in the ſame diſpoſitions at Shrewſbury. So anxious was Richard for the ſecurity of theſe acts, that he obliged the lords and commons to ſwear anew to them on the croſs of Canterbury;[g] and he ſoon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually ſecured and eſtabliſhed.[h] The parliament, on the other hand, conferred on him, for life, the duties on wool, wool fells, and leather; and granted him, beſides, a ſubſidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. They alſo reverſed the attainder of Treſilian and the other judges; and, with the approbation of the preſent judges, declared the anſwers, for which theſe magiſtrates had been impeached, to be juſt and legal.[i] And they carried ſo far their retroſpect as to reverſe, on the petition of lord Spenſer, earl of Gloceſter, the attainder pronounced againſt the two Spenſers in the reign of Edward II.[k] The ancient hiſtory of England is nothing but a catalogue of reverſals; every thing is in fluctuation and movement; one faction is continually undoing what was eſtabliſhed by another; and the multiplied oaths, which each party exacted for the ſecurity of the preſent acts, betray a perpetual conſciouſneſs of their inſtability.

The parliament, before they were diſſolved, elected a committee of twelve lords and ſix commoners;[l] whom they inveſted

with the whole power both of lords and commons, and endowed with full authority to finiſh all buſineſs which had been laid before the houſes, and which they had not had leiſure to bring to a concluſion.[m] This was an unuſual conceſſion; and, though it was limited in the object, might, either immediately or as a precedent, have proved dangerous to the conſtitution: but the cauſe of that extraordinary meaſure was an event ſingular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the parliament.

After the deſtruction of the duke of Gloceſter, and the heads of that party, a miſunderſtanding broke out among thoſe noblemen who had joined in the proſecution; and the king wanted either authority ſufficient to appeaſe it, or foreſight to prevent it. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accuſed the duke of Norfolk of having ſpoken to him, in private, many ſlanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of ſubverting and deſtroying many of his principal nobility.[n] Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed; and, as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interpoſition of legiſlative authority, the parliament thought it more ſuitable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the ſeſſion beyond the uſual time which cuſtom and general convenience had preſcribed to it.[o]

The duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private converſation to the ruin of the perſon who had intruſted him; and we may thence be more inclined to believe the duke of Norfolk's denial than the other's aſſeveration. But Norfolk had in theſe tranſactions betrayed an equal neglect of honour, which brings him entirely on a level with his antagoniſt. Though he had publicly

joined with the duke of Gloceſter and his party in all the former acts of violence againſt the king; and his name ſtands among the appellants who accuſed the duke of Ireland and the other miniſters; yet was he not aſhamed publicly to impeach his former aſſociates, for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing; and his name increaſes the liſt of thoſe appellants who brought them to a trial. Such were the principles and practices of thoſe ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the ariſtocratical government, and the reign of chivalry.

The liſts for this deciſion of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king; all the nobility of England bandied into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or the other; the whole nation was held in ſuſpenſe with regard to the event; but, when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the combat, the king interpoſed, to prevent both the preſent effuſion of ſuch noble blood, and the future conſequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, he ſtopped the duel; and, to ſhew his impartiality, he ordered, by the ſame authority, both the combatants to leave the kingdom;[p] aſſigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

Hereford was a man of great prudence and command of temper; and he behaved himſelf with ſo much ſubmiſſion in theſe delicate circumſtances, that the king, before his departure, promiſed to ſhorten the term of his exile four years; and he alſo granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in caſe any inheritance ſhould in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in poſſeſſion, and to poſtpone the doing of homage till his return.

## BANISHMENT OF HENRY DUKE OF HEREFORD. 1398.

THE weakneſs and fluctuation of Richard's counſels appear no where more evident than in the conduct of this affair. No ſooner had Hereford left the kingdom than the king's jealouſy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived; and he was ſenſible that, by Gloceſter's death, he had only removed a counterpoiſe to the Lancaſtrian intereſt, which was now become formidable to his crown and kingdom. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finiſhing of an alliance which would ſo much extend the intereſt of his couſin in foreign countries; and he ſent over the earl of Saliſbury to Paris with a commiſſion for that purpoſe. The death of the duke of Lancaſter, which happened ſoon after, called upon him to take new reſolutions with regard to that opulent ſucceſſion. The preſent duke, in conſequence of the king's patent, deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate and juriſdictions of his father; but Richard, afraid of ſtrengthening the hands of a man whom he had already ſo much offended, applied to the parliamentary commiſſioners, and perſuaded them that this affair was but an appendage to that buſineſs which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and retained poſſeſſion of the eſtate of Lancaſter: and by the ſame authority he ſeized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and inſiſted on the letters; and he had him condemned as a traitor for faithfully executing that truſt to his maſter.[3] An extravagant act of power! even though the king changed, in favour of the attorney, the penalty of death into that of baniſhment.

Henry, the new duke of Lancaſter, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the eſteem of the public; and, having ſerved with diſtinction againſt the infidels in Lithuania, he had joined to his other praiſes thoſe of piety and valour; virtues which have at all times a great influence over mankind, and were, during thoſe ages, the qualities chiefly held in eſtimation.[r] He was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendſhip; and, as the injury done him by the king might in its conſequences affect all of them, he eaſily brought them, by a ſenſe of common intereſt, to take part in his reſentment. The people, who muſt have an object of affection, who found nothing in the king's perſon which they could love or revere, and who were even diſguſted with many parts of his conduct,[s] eaſily transferred to Henry that attachment which the death of the duke of Gloceſter had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injuſtice which he had ſuffered was complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only perſon that could retrieve the loſt honour of the nation, or redreſs the ſuppoſed abuſes in the government.

## RETURN OF HENRY. 1399.

While ſuch were the diſpoſitions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his couſin, Roger earl of Marche, the preſumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been ſlain in a ſkirmiſh by the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of ſixty perſons, among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire;

and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent barons in England. Here he took a ſolemn oath, that he had no other purpoſe in this invaſion than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him; and he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to ſecond him in this reaſonable and moderate pretenſion. Every place was in commotion; the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London diſcovered the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of its diſpoſition to mutiny and rebellion; and Henry's army, increaſing on every day's march, ſoon amounted to the number of ſixty thouſand combatants.

## GENERAL INSURRECTION.

THE duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his ſlender abilities, and his natural connexions with the duke of Lancaſter, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in ſuch a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have ſeconded the guardian's good intentions, or have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than thoſe of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Albans, and ſoon aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men; but found them entirely deſtitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cauſe, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened, therefore, very readily to a meſſage from Henry, who entreated him not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would ſecond his nephew in ſo reaſonable a requeſt. His army embraced with acclamations the

ſame meaſures; and the duke of Lancaſter, reinforced by them, was now entirely maſter of the kingdom. He haſtened to Briſtol, into which ſome of the king's miniſters had thrown themſelves; and, ſoon obliging that place to ſurrender, he yielded to the popular wiſhes, and, without giving them a trial, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, ſir John Buſſy, and ſir Henry Green, whom he there took priſoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invaſion and inſurrection, haſtened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of twenty thouſand men: but even this army, ſo much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or ſeized with the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection; and they gradually deſerted him, till he found that he had not above ſix thouſand men who followed his ſtandard. It appeared, therefore, neceſſary to retire ſecretly from this ſmall body, which ſerved only to expoſe him to danger; and he fled to the iſle of Angleſea, where he purpoſed to embark either for Ireland or France, and there await the favourable opportunities which the return of his ſubjects to a ſenſe of duty, or their future diſcontents againſt the duke of Lancaſter, would probably afford him. Henry, ſenſible of the danger, ſent to him the earl of Northumberland with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; and that nobleman, by treachery and falſe oaths, made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Caſtle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaſter, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city entreated him, for the public ſafety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were priſoners; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to thoſe ex-

tremities. For this purpoſe he iſſued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament at Weſtminſter.

## KING DEPOSED AND MURDERED.

Such of the peers as were moſt devoted to the king were either fled or impriſoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear againſt Henry, amidſt that ſcene of outrage and violence which commonly attends revolutions, eſpecially in England during thoſe turbulent ages. It is alſo eaſy to imagine that a houſe of commons, elected during this univerſal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancaſtrian party, would be extremely attached to that cauſe, and ready to ſecond every ſuggeſtion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to ſtem the torrent, was always carried along with it, and ſerved only to increaſe the violence which the public intereſt required it ſhould endeavour to control. The duke of Lancaſter, therefore, ſenſible that he ſhould be entirely maſter, began to carry his views to the crown itſelf; and he deliberated with his partiſans concerning the moſt proper means of effecting his daring purpoſe. He firſt extorted a reſignation from Richard;[w] but, as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the reſult of force and fear, he alſo purpoſed, notwithſtanding the danger of the precedent to himſelf and his poſterity, to have him ſolemnly depoſed in parliament for his pretended tyranny and miſconduct. A charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up againſt him, and preſented to that aſſembly.[x]

If we examine theſe articles, which are expreſſed with extreme acrimony againſt Richard, we ſhall find that, except ſome raſh ſpeeches which are imputed to him,[y] and of whoſe reality, as they are ſaid to have paſſed in private converſation, we may

reaſonably entertain ſome doubt, the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two laſt years of his reign, and naturally divides itſelf into two principal heads. The firſt and moſt conſiderable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons, who had formerly uſurped, and ſtill perſevered in controlling and threatening, his authority; the ſecond is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former, however irregular in many of its circumſtances, was fully ſupported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons themſelves, during their former triumph, had exerciſed againſt him and his party. The detention of Lancaſter's eſtate was, properly ſpeaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace which the king himſelf had formerly granted him. The murder of Gloceſter (for the ſecret execution, however merited, of that prince certainly deſerves this appellation) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any uſurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could juſtly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a defect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves that, inſtead of being dangerous to the conſtitution, he poſſeſſed not even the authority neceſſary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the ſecond head of accuſation, as it moſtly conſiſts of general facts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be anſwered by him or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of theſe grievances, imputed to Richard, ſeems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; ſuch as the diſpenſing power,[a] levying purveyance,[a] employing the marſhal's court,[b] extorting [c] loans, granting protections from law ſuits;[d] prerogatives which, though often complained of, had often been exerciſed by his predeceſſors, and ſtill continued to be ſo by his ſucceſſors. But, whether

his irregular acts of this kind were more frequent, and injudicious, and violent, than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather; he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without consent of parliament, during his whole reign.[e] Scarcely a year passed, during the reign of Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But, perhaps, the ascendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives, and rendered them a smaller grievance in his hands than a less absolute authority in those of his grandson. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain that a charge drawn up by the duke of Lancaster, and assented to by a parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular.[f]

When the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament, though it was liable, almost in every article, to objections, it was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed, in either house, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, the bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though some topics, employed by that virtuous prelate, may seem to favour too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind, he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his

abhorrence of the preſent licentious factions; and ſuch intrepidity, as well as diſintereſtedneſs of behaviour, proves that, whatever his ſpeculative principles were, his heart was elevated far above the meanneſs and abject ſubmiſſion of a ſlave. He repreſented to the parliament that all the abuſes of government which could juſtly be imputed to Richard, inſtead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the reſult of error, youth, or miſguided counſel, and admitted of a remedy more eaſy and ſalutary than a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution: that, even had they been much more violent and dangerous than they really were, they had chiefly proceeded from former examples of reſiſtance, which, making the prince ſenſible of his precarious ſituation, had obliged him to eſtabliſh his throne by irregular and arbitrary expedients: that a rebellious diſpoſition in ſubjects was the principal cauſe of tyranny in kings; laws could never ſecure the ſubject, which did not give ſecurity to the ſovereign; and, if the maxim of inviolable loyalty, which formed the baſis of the Engliſh government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, inſtead of being fortified by that licentiouſneſs, would thereby loſe the ſureſt foundation of their force and ſtability: that the parliamentary depoſition of Edward II, far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of ſucceſsful violence; and it was ſufficiently to be lamented that crimes were ſo often committed in the world without eſtabliſhing principles which might juſtify and authoriſe them: that even that precedent, falſe and dangerous as it was, could never warrant the preſent exceſſes, which were ſo much greater, and which would entail diſtraction and miſery on the nation to the lateſt poſterity: that the ſucceſſion, at leaſt, of the crown was then preſerved inviolate; the lineal heir was placed on the throne; and the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence

which they had committed againſt his predeceſſor: that a deſcendant of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaſter, had been declared in parliament ſucceſſor to the crown; he had left poſterity; and their title, however it might be overpowered by preſent force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people: that, if the turbulent diſpoſition alone of the nation had overturned the well eſtabliſhed throne of ſo good a prince as Richard, what bloody commotions muſt enſue when the ſame cauſe was united to the motive of reſtoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? that the new government, intended to be eſtabliſhed, would ſtand on no principle, and would ſcarcely retain any pretence by which it could challenge the obedience of men of ſenſe and virtue: that the claim of lineal deſcent was ſo groſs as ſcarcely to deceive the moſt ignorant of the populace; conqueſt could never be pleaded by a rebel againſt his ſovereign; the conſent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from conſent, but eſtabliſhed by hereditary right; and, however the nation might be juſtified in depoſing the miſguided Richard, it could never have any reaſon for ſetting aſide his lawful heir and ſucceſſor, who was plainly innocent: and that the duke of Lancaſter would give them but a bad ſpecimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his paſt rebellion the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of parliament, would, in caſe of Richard's demiſe or voluntary reſignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy.

All the circumſtances of this event, compared to thoſe which attended the late revolution in 1688, ſhew the difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its eſtabliſhed privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous ariſtocracy,

plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into thoſe of another. This noble freedom of the biſhop of Carliſle, inſtead of being applauded, was not ſo much as tolerated; he was immediately arreſted, by order of the duke of Lancaſter, and ſent a priſoner to the abbey of St. Albans. No farther debate was attempted. Thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted againſt Richard; and voted unanimouſly by the ſame peers and prelates who a little before had, voluntarily and unanimouſly, authoriſed thoſe very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was depoſed by the ſuffrages of both houſes; and, the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaſter ſtepped forth, and, having croſſed himſelf on the forehead and on the breaſt, and called upon the name of Chriſt,[h] he pronounced theſe words, which we ſhall give in the original language, becauſe of their ſingularity:

'In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I Henry of Lancaſter challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am deſcendit by right line of the blode, coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath ſent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance,[i] and ondoying of the gude lawes.'

In order to underſtand this ſpeech, it muſt be obſerved that there was a ſilly ſtory, received among ſome of the loweſt vulgar, that Edmond earl of Lancaſter, ſon of Henry III, was really the elder brother of Edward I; but that, by reaſon of ſome deformity in his perſon, he had been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion, and his younger brother impoſed on the nation in his ſtead. As the preſent duke of Lancaſter inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore inſinuated in Henry's ſpeech: but the ab-

ſurdity was too groſs to be openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The caſe is the ſame with regard to his right of conqueſt. He was a ſubject who rebelled againſt his ſovereign; he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than ſixty perſons; he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly inſinuated, not avowed. Still there is a third claim derived from his merits in ſaving the nation from tyranny and oppreſſion; and this claim is alſo inſinuated: but, as it ſeemed, by its nature, better calculated as a reaſon for his being elected king by a free choice, than for giving him an immediate right of poſſeſſion, he durſt not ſpeak openly even on this head; and, to obviate any notion of election, he challenges the crown as his due, either by acquiſition or inheritance. The whole forms ſuch a piece of jargon and nonſenſe as is almoſt without example; no objection, however, was made to it in parliament; the unanimous voice of lords and commons placed Henry on the throne; he became king, nobody could tell how or wherefore; the title of the houſe of Marche, formerly recognized by parliament, was neither invalidated nor repealed, but paſſed over in total ſilence; and, as a concern for the liberties of the people ſeems to have had no hand in this revolution, their right to diſpoſe of the government, as well as all their other privileges, was left preciſely on the ſame footing as before. But, Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped ſome obſcure hint concerning conqueſt, which, it was thought, might endanger theſe privileges, he ſoon after made a public declaration that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchiſes or liberties;[k] which was the only circumſtance where we ſhall find meaning or common ſenſe in all theſe tranſactions.

The ſubſequent events diſcover the ſame headlong violence of conduct, and the ſame rude notions of civil government. The depoſition of Richard diſſolved the parliament; it was neceſſary

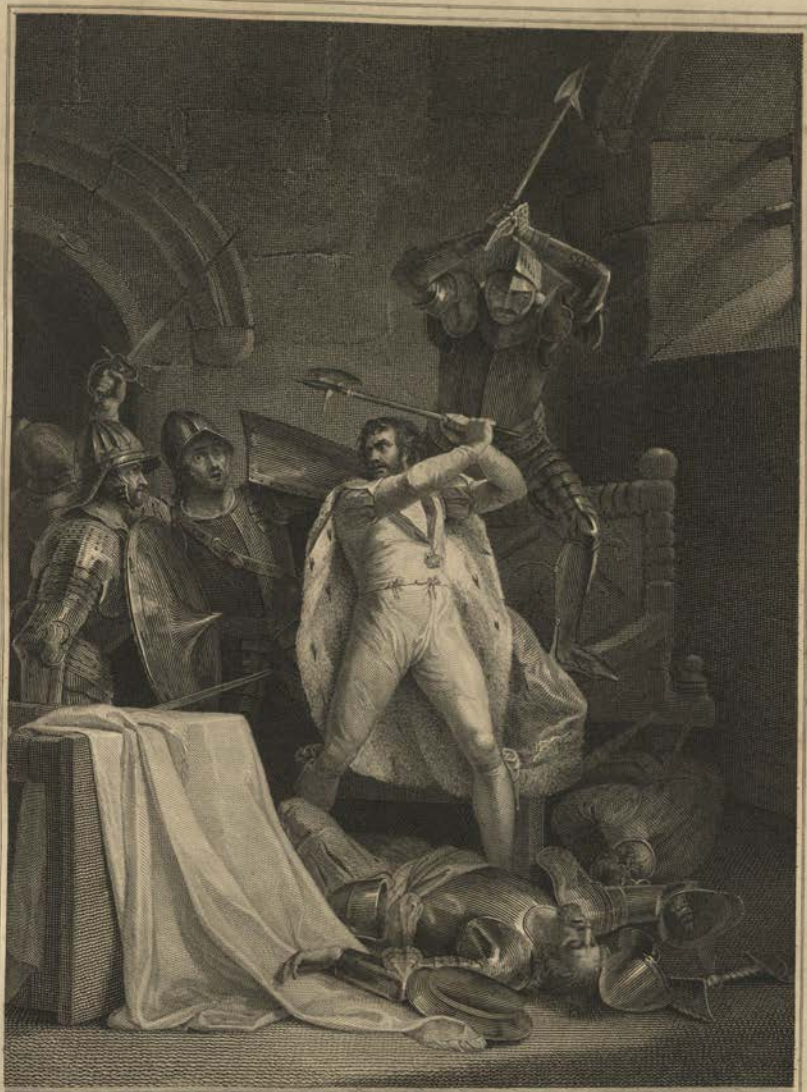
to ſummon a new one; and Henry, in ſix days after, called together, without any new election, the ſame members; and this aſſembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the uſual taſk of reverſing every deed of the oppoſite party. All the acts of the laſt parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths and by a papal bull, were abrogated. All the acts which had paſſed in the parliament where Gloceſter prevailed, which had alſo been confirmed by their oaths, but which had been abrogated by Richard, were anew eſtabliſhed.[l] The anſwers of Treſilian, and the other judges, which a parliament had annulled, but which a new parliament and new judges had approved, here received a ſecond condemnation. The peers who had accuſed Gloceſter, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had received higher titles for that piece of ſervice, were all of them degraded from their new dignities. Even the practice of proſecuting appeals in parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy againſt an individual, rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly aboliſhed, and trials were reſtored to the courſe of common law.[m] The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with ſuch rapid and perpetual changes, and to make them loſe all notions of right and wrong in the meaſures of government.

The earl of Northumberland made a motion, in the houſe of peers, with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had depoſed. He aſked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, ſince Henry was reſolved to ſpare his life. They unanimouſly replied that he ſhould be impriſoned under a ſecure guard, in ſome ſecret place, and ſhould be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partiſans. It was eaſy to foreſee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of ſuch barbarous and ſanguinary enemies. Hiſtorians differ with regard to the manner in which he was mur-

dered. It was long the prevailing opinion that ſir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the caſtle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and diſpatched him with their halberts. But it is more probable that he was ſtarved to death in priſon; and, after all ſuſtenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is ſaid, for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miſeries. This account is more conſiſtent with the ſtory that his body was expoſed in public, and that no marks of violence were obſerved upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no poſterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

## CHARACTER OF THE KING.

All the writers, who have tranſmitted to us the hiſtory of Richard, lived during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian princes; and candour requires that we ſhould not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he ſtill appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, leſs for want of natural parts and capacity than of ſolid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuſe in his expenſe; fond of idle ſhew and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleaſure: paſſions all of them the moſt inconſiſtent with a prudent economy, and conſequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. Had he poſſeſſed the talents of gaining, and ſtill more thoſe of overawing, his great barons, he might have eſcaped all the misfortunes of his reign, and been allowed to carry much farther his oppreſſions over the people, if he really was guilty of any, without their daring to rebel or even to murmur againſt him. But, when the grandees were tempted, by his want of prudence and of vigour, to reſiſt his authority,



DEATH OF RICHARD II.

Painted by F. Wheatley R.A.

Published as the Act directs by Rob.t Bowyer at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall June.t 1791

Engraved by A. Smith

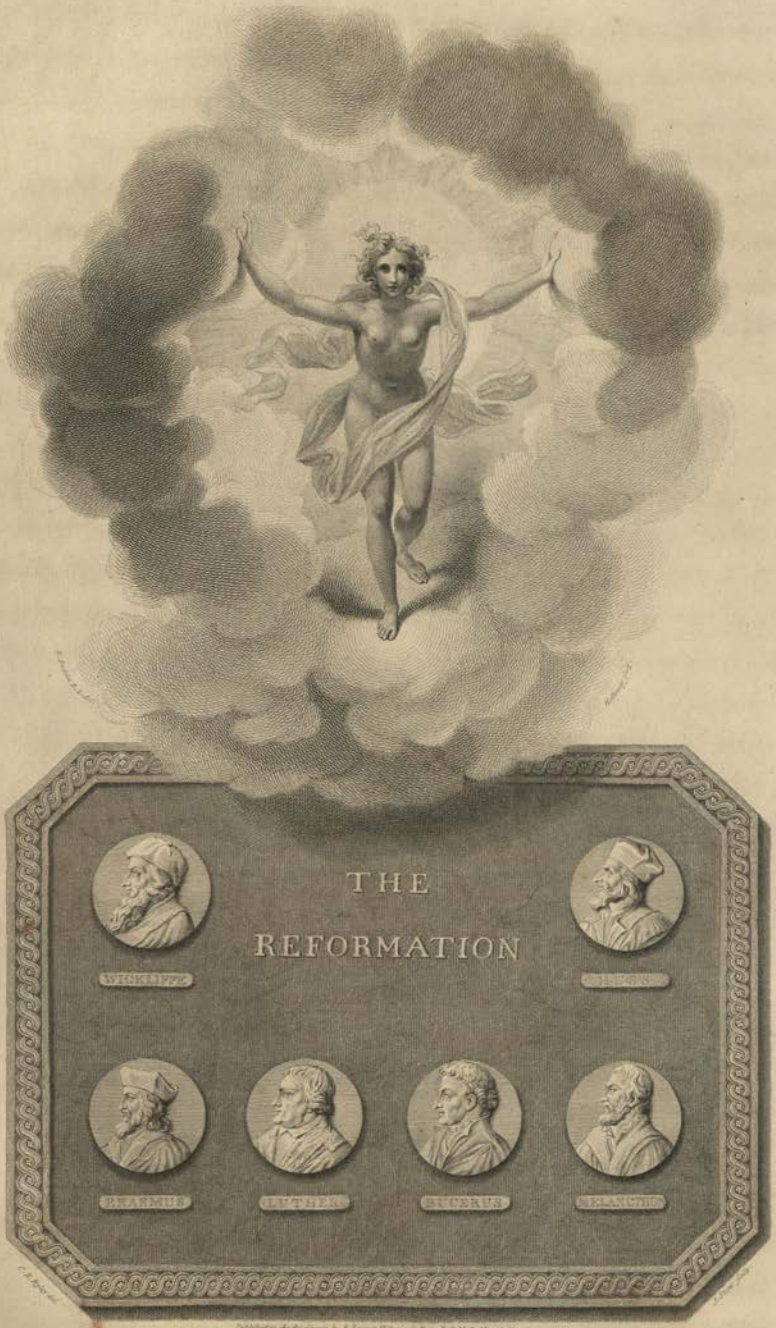
and execute the moſt violent enterpriſes upon him, he was naturally led to ſeek an opportunity of retaliation; juſtice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were ſacrificed: and all theſe enormities ſeem to have proceeded leſs from a ſettled deſign of eſtabliſhing arbitrary power than from the inſolence of victory, and the neceſſities of the king's ſituation. The manners, indeed, of the age were the chief ſource of ſuch violence; laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, loſt all their authority during public convulſions; both parties were alike guilty; or, if any difference may be remarked between them, we ſhall find that the authority of the crown, being more legal, was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to leſs deſperate extremities than was that of the ariſtocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign with thoſe of the preceding, we ſhall find equal reaſon to admire Edward and to blame Richard; but the circumſtance of oppoſition, ſurely, will not lie in the ſtrict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of ſmall abilities, as he felt his want of power, ſeems to have been more moderate in this reſpect than the other. Every parliament aſſembled during the reign of Edward remonſtrates againſt the exertion of ſome arbitrary prerogative or other: we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the aſſembling of his laſt parliament; which was ſummoned by his inveterate enemies; which dethroned him; which framed their complaints during the time of the moſt furious convulſions; and whoſe teſtimony muſt therefore have, on that account," much leſs authority with every equitable judge. Both theſe princes experienced the encroachments of the great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to neceſſities, was obliged to make an expreſs bargain with his parliament, and to ſell ſome of his prerogatives for preſent ſupply; but, as they were ac-

quainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant conceſſions, or ſuch as were incompatible with regal and ſovereign power. The weakneſs of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commiſſion, which, in a manner, dethroned the prince, and transferred the ſceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of theſe encroachments were alſo ſuitable to the character of each. Edward had no ſooner gotten the ſupply than he departed from the engagements which had induced the parliament to grant it; he openly told his people that he had but diſſembled with them when he ſeemed to make them theſe conceſſions; and he reſumed and retained all his prerogatives. But Richard, becauſe he was detected in conſulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulneſs of reſtoring the conſtitution, found his barons immediately in arms againſt him; was deprived of his liberty; ſaw his favourites, his miniſters, his tutor, butchered before his face, or baniſhed and attainted; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contraſt between the fortunes of two princes. It were happy for ſociety, did this contraſt always depend on the juſtice or injuſtice of the meaſures which men embrace, and not rather on the different degrees of prudence and vigour with which thoſe meaſures are ſupported.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THERE was a ſenſible decay of eccleſiaſtical authority during this period. The diſguſt, which the laity had received from the numerous uſurpations both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy, had very much weaned the kingdom from ſuperſtition; and ſtrong ſymptoms appeared, from time to time, of a general deſire to ſhake off the bondage of the Romiſh church. In the committee of eighteen, to whom Richard's laſt parliament dele-


THE
REFORMATION
ERASMUS
LUTHER
BUCERUS
MELANCTHON

gated their whole power, there is not the name of one eccleſiaſtic to be found; a neglect which is almoſt without example while the catholic religion ſubſiſted in England.[o]

The averſion entertained againſt the eſtabliſhed church ſoon found principles, and tenets, and reaſonings, by which it could juſtify and ſupport itſelf. John Wickliffe, a ſecular prieſt, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of Edward III to ſpread the doctrine of reformation by his diſcourſes, ſermons, and writings; and he made many diſciples among men of all ranks and ſtations. He ſeems to have been a man of parts and learning; and has the honour of being the firſt perſon in Europe that publicly called in queſtion thoſe principles, which had univerſally paſſed for certain and undiſputed during ſo many ages. Wickliffe himſelf, as well as his diſciples, who received the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards, was diſtinguiſhed by a great auſterity of life and manners; a circumſtance common to almoſt all thoſe who dogmatize in any new way; both becauſe men, who draw to them the attention of the public and expoſe themſelves to the odium of great multitudes, are obliged to be very guarded in their conduct; and becauſe few, who have a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure or buſineſs, will enter upon ſo difficult and laborious an undertaking. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being derived from his ſearch into the ſcriptures and into eccleſiaſtical antiquity, were nearly the ſame with thoſe which were propagated by the reformers in the ſixteenth century; he only carried ſome of them farther than was done by the more ſober part of theſe reformers. He denied the doctrine of the real preſence, the ſupremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monaſtic vows: he maintained that the ſcriptures were the ſole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the ſtate, and ſhould be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to poſſeſs no eſtates; that the begging friars were a nuiſance, and ought not to be ſupported;[p] that the nu-

merous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety: he aſſerted that oaths were unlawful; that dominion was founded in grace; that every thing was ſubject to fate and deſtiny, and that all men were preordained either to eternal ſalvation or reprobation.[q] From the whole of his doctrines, Wickliffe appears to have been ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm, and to have been thereby the better qualified to oppoſe a church whoſe chief characteriſtic is ſuperſtition.

The propagation of theſe principles gave great alarm to the clergy; and a bull was iſſued by pope Gregory XI for taking Wickliffe into cuſtody, and examining into the ſcope of his opinions.[r] Courteney, biſhop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who ſcreened him from the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. The duke of Lancaſter, who then governed the kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickliffe; and he made no ſcruple, as well as lord Piercy the mareſchal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial; he even inſiſted that Wickliffe ſhould ſit in the biſhop's preſence, while his principles were examined. Courteney exclaimed againſt the inſult. The Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and mareſchal, who eſcaped from their hands with ſome difficulty.[s] And the populace ſoon after broke into the houſes of both theſe noblemen, threatened their perſons, and plundered their goods. The biſhop of London had the merit of appeaſing their fury and reſentment.

The duke of Lancaſter, however, ſtill continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had ſo far propagated themſelves, that, when the pope ſent to Oxford a new bull againſt theſe doctrines, the univerſity deliberated for ſome time whether they ſhould receive the bull; and they never took any vigorous meaſures in conſe-

quence of the papal orders.' Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favourable ſentiments of this reformer: when he was cited before a ſynod at Lambeth, they broke into the aſſembly, and ſo overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court againſt them, that they diſmiſſed him without any farther cenſure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to puniſh this new hereſy, which ſtruck at all their credit, poſſeſſions, and authority. But there was hitherto no law in England by which the ſecular arm was authoriſed to ſupport orthodoxy; and the eccleſiaſtics endeavoured to ſupply the defect by an extraordinary and unwarrantable artifice. In the year 1381 there was an act paſſed, requiring ſheriffs to apprehend the preachers of hereſy and their abettors; but this ſtatute had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained by the clergy, and had the formality of an enrolment without the conſent of the commons. In the ſubſequent ſeſſion the lower houſe complained of the fraud; affirmed that they had no intention to bind themſelves to the prelates farther than their anceſtors had done before them; and required that the pretended ſtatute ſhould be repealed; which was done accordingly." But it is remarkable that, notwithſtanding this vigilance of the commons, the clergy had ſo much art and influence that the repeal was ſuppreſſed; and the act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day upon the ſtatute book;* though the clergy ſtill thought proper to keep it in reſerve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it.

But, beſides this defect of power in the church, which ſaved Wickliffe, that reformer himſelf, notwithſtanding his enthuſiaſm, ſeems not to have been actuated by the ſpirit of martyrdom; and, in all ſubſequent trials before the prelates, he ſo explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings as to render it quite

innocent and inoffenſive.[y] Moſt of his followers imitated his cautious diſpoſition, and ſaved themſelves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a palſy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leiceſter; and the clergy, mortified that he ſhould have eſcaped their vengeance, took care, beſides aſſuring the people of his eternal damnation, to repreſent his laſt diſtemper as a viſible judgment of heaven upon him for his multiplied hereſies and impieties.[z]

The proſelytes, however, of Wickliffe's opinions ſtill increaſed in England.[a] Some monkiſh writers repreſent one half of the kingdom as infected by thoſe principles. They were carried over to Bohemia by ſome youth of that nation, who ſtudied at Oxford. But, though the age ſeemed ſtrongly diſpoſed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finiſhing blow to eccleſiaſtical power was reſerved to a period of more curioſity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

Meanwhile the Engliſh parliament continued to check the clergy and the court of Rome by more ſober and more legal expedients. They enacted anew the ſtatute of proviſors, and affixed higher penalties to the tranſgreſſion of it, which, in ſome inſtances, was even made capital.[b] The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increaſed their authority over the prelates. The pope, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depriving them was violent and liable to oppoſition, attained the ſame end by transferring ſuch of them as were obnoxious to poorer ſees, and even to nominal ſees, 'in partibus infidelium.' It was thus that the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of Durham and Chicheſter, the king's miniſters, had been treated after the prevalence of Gloceſter's faction. The biſhop of Carliſle met with the ſame fate after the acceſſion of Henry IV; for the pope always joined with the prevailing powers when they did not thwart his pretenſions. The parliament, in the reign of Richard,

enacted a law againſt this abuſe; and the king made a general remonſtrance to the court of Rome againſt all thoſe uſurpations, which he calls horrible exceſſes of that court.[c]

It was uſual for the church, that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their votaries leave lands in truſt to certain perſons, under whoſe name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequeſt: the parliament alſo ſtopped the progreſs[d] of this abuſe. In the ſeventeenth of the king, the commons prayed 'that remedy might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſe their villains to marry free women inheritable, whereby the eſtate comes to thoſe religious hands[e] by colluſion.' This was a new device of the clergy.

The papacy was at this time ſomewhat weakened by a ſchiſm, which laſted during forty years, and gave great ſcandal to the devoted partiſans of the holy ſee. After the pope had reſided many years at Avignon, Gregory XI was perſuaded to return to Rome; and upon his death, which happened in 1380, the Romans, reſolute to fix, for the future, the ſeat of the papacy in Italy, beſieged the cardinals in the conclave, and compelled them, though they were moſtly Frenchmen, to elect Urban VI, an Italian, into that high dignity. The French cardinals, as ſoon as they recovered their liberty, fled from Rome, and, proteſting againſt the forced election, choſe Robert, ſon of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII, and reſided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, according to the ſeveral intereſts and inclinations, were divided between theſe two pontiffs. The court of France adhered to Clement, and was followed by its allies, the king of Caſtile and the king of Scotland; England, of courſe, was thrown into the other party, and declared for Urban. Thus the appellation of Clementines and Urbaniſts diſtracted Europe for ſeveral years; and each party damned the other as ſchiſmatics, and as rebels to the true vicar of Chriſt.

But this circumſtance, though it weakened the papal authority, had not ſo great an effect as might naturally be imagined. Though any king could eaſily at firſt make his kingdom embrace the party of one pope or the other, or even keep it ſome time in ſuſpenſe between them, he could not ſo eaſily transfer his obedience at pleaſure. The people attached themſelves to their own party, as to a religious opinion; and conceived an extreme abhorrence to the oppoſite party, whom they regarded as little better than Saracens or infidels. Cruſades were even undertaken in this quarrel; and the zealous biſhop of Norwich, in particular, led over, in 1382, near ſixty thouſand bigots into Flanders againſt the Clementines: but, after loſing a great part of his followers, he returned with diſgrace into England.[f] Each pope, ſenſible, from this prevailing ſpirit among the people, that the kingdom which once embraced his cauſe would always adhere to him, boldly maintained all the pretenſions of his ſee, and ſtood not much more in awe of the temporal ſovereigns than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival.

We meet with this preamble to a law enacted at the very beginning of this reign. 'Whereas divers perſons, of ſmall garriſon of land or other poſſeſſions, do make great retinue of people, as well of eſquires as of others, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other livery of one ſuit by year, taking again towards them the value of the ſame livery, or percaſe the double value, by ſuch covenant and aſſurance, that every of them ſhall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reaſonable or unreaſonable, to the great miſchief and oppreſſion of the people,[g] &c.' This preamble contains a true picture of the ſtate of the kingdom. The laws had been ſo feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigilant, reign of Edward III, that no ſubject could truſt to their protection. Men openly aſſociated themſelves, under the patronage of ſome great baron, for their mutual

defence: they wore public badges, by which their confederacy was diſtinguiſhed: they ſupported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes: their chief was more their ſovereign than the king himſelf; and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, diſorders, factions, and civil wars, of thoſe times; hence the ſmall regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public; hence the large diſcretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might have enſued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had poſſeſſed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles aſſumed and exerciſed them, there muſt have enſued an abſolute anarchy in the ſtate.

One great miſchief attending theſe confederacies was the extorting from the king pardons for the moſt enormous crimes. The parliament often endeavoured, in the laſt reign, to deprive the prince of this prerogative; but, in the preſent, they were content with an abridgment of it. They enacted that no pardon for rapes or for murder from malice prepenſe ſhould be valid, unleſs the crime were particularly ſpecified in it.[h] There were alſo ſome other circumſtances required for paſſing any pardon of this kind. An excellent law; but ill obſerved, like moſt laws that thwart the manners of the people and the prevailing cuſtoms of the times.

It is eaſy to obſerve, from theſe voluntary aſſociations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal ſyſtem was in a manner diſſolved; and that the Engliſh had nearly returned, in that particular, to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood before the Norman conqueſt. It was, indeed, impoſſible that that ſyſtem could long ſubſiſt under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is every where ſubject. When the great feudal baronies were firſt erected, the lord lived in opulence in the

midſt of his vaſſals; he was in a ſituation to protect and cheriſh and defend them; the quality of patron naturally united itſelf to that of ſuperior; and theſe two principles of authority mutually ſupported each other. But, when, by the various diviſions and mixtures of property, a man's ſuperior came to live at a diſtance from him, and could no longer give him ſhelter or countenance, the tie gradually became more fictitious than real; new connexions, from vicinity or other cauſes, were formed; protection was ſought by voluntary ſervices and attachment; the appearance of valour, ſpirit, abilities, in any great man, extended his intereſt very far; and, if the ſovereign were deficient in theſe qualities, he was no leſs, if not more, expoſed to the uſurpations of the ariſtocracy than even during the vigour of the feudal ſyſtem.

The greateſt novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the firſt peer that was advanced to the houſe of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is alſo firſt mentioned in the preſent reign.

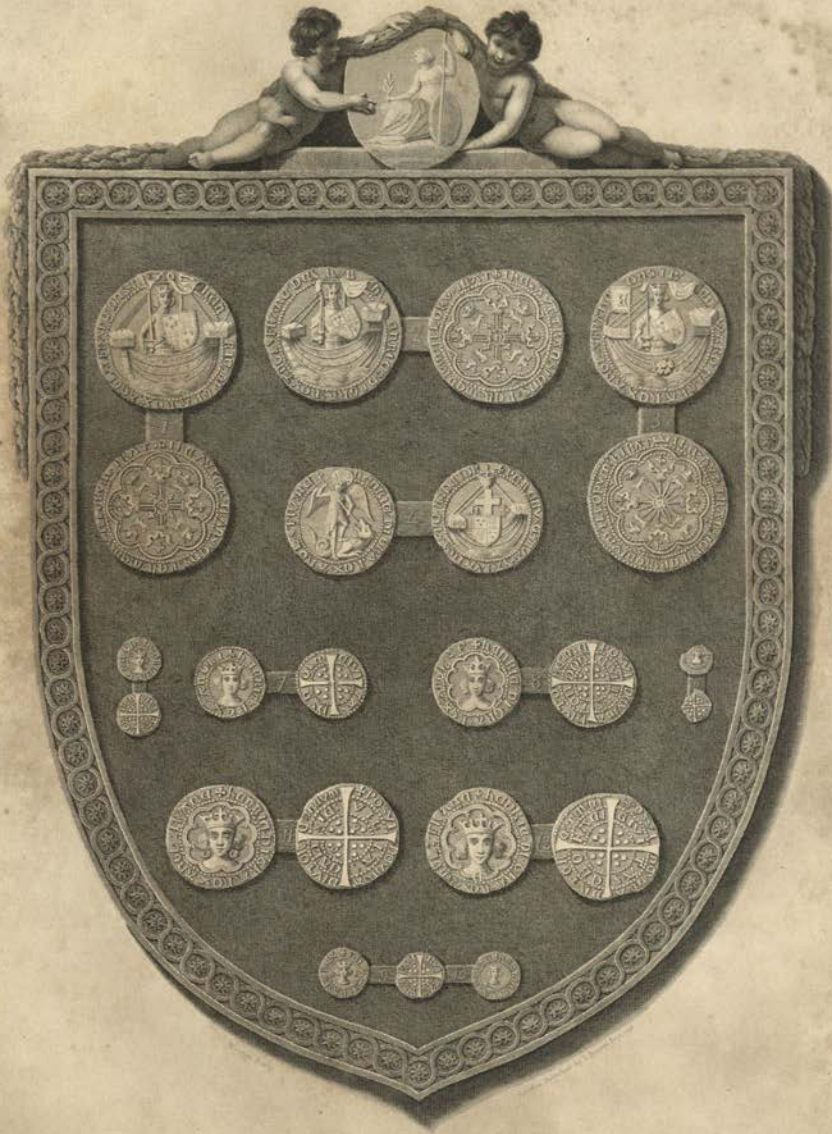
This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors. His houſehold conſiſted of ten thouſand perſons; he had three hundred in his kitchen, and all the other offices were furniſhed in proportion.[1] It muſt be remarked that this enormous train had tables ſupplied them at the king's expenſe, according to the mode of that age. Such prodigality was probably the ſource of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reaſon of the public diſcontents.

HENRY IV. COMMITTING PRINCE JAMES OF SCOTLAND, TO THE CARE OF HIS TUTOR.

# HENRY IV.

## CHAP. XVIII.

TITLE OF THE KING: AN INSURRECTION: AN INSURRECTION IN WALES: THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS: BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY: STATE OF SCOTLAND: PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS: DEATH, AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.



FROM HENRY IV. TO HENRY VI.

HOVSE
OF
LANCASTER

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## HENRY IV.

1399....1413.

TITLE OF THE KING....AN INSURRECTION....AN INSURRECTION IN WALES....THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS....BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY....STATE OF SCOTLAND....PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS....DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.

### TITLE OF THE KING. 1399.

THE Engliſh had ſo long been familiarized to the hereditary ſucceſſion of their monarchs, the inſtances of departure from it had always born ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of injuſtice and violence, and ſo little of a national choice or election, and the returns to the true line had ever been deemed ſuch fortunate incidents in their hiſtory, that Henry was afraid leſt, in reſting his title on the conſent of the people, he ſhould build on a foundation to which the people themſelves were not accuſtomed, and whoſe ſolidity they would with difficulty be brought to recogniſe. The idea too of choice ſeemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the conſent upon any ſuppoſed violation of them: an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a ſovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the ſubjects;

who, lying ſo much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For theſe reaſons Henry was determined never to have recourſe to this claim, the only one on which his authority could conſiſtently ſtand: he rather choſe to patch up his title in the beſt manner he could from other pretenſions: and, in the end, he left himſelf, in the eyes of men of ſenſe, no ground of right but his preſent poſſeſſion; a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great or prejudice of the people. He had, indeed, a preſent advantage over his competitor. The heir of the houſe of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament heir to the crown, was a boy of ſeven years of age:[k] his friends conſulted his ſafety by keeping ſilence with regard to his title. Henry detained him and his younger brother in an honourable cuſtody at Windſor caſtle: but he had reaſon to dread that, in proportion as that nobleman grew to man's eſtate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud, violence, and injuſtice, by which he had been excluded from the throne. Many favourable topics would occur in his behalf: he was a native of England; poſſeſſed an extenſive intereſt from the greatneſs and alliances of his family; however criminal the depoſed monarch, this youth was entirely innocent; he was of the ſame religion, and educated in the ſame manners, with the people, and could not be governed by any ſeparate intereſt. Theſe views would all concur to favour his claim; and, though the abilities of the preſent prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was juſtly to be apprehended that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predeceſſors.

Henry, in his very firſt parliament, had reaſon to ſee the danger attending that ſtation which he had aſſumed, and the ob-

ſtacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly ariſtocracy, always divided by faction, and at preſent inflamed with the reſentments conſequent on ſuch recent convulſions. The peers, on their aſſembling, broke out into violent animoſities againſt each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the houſe by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and 'liar' and 'traitor' reſounded from all quarters. The king had ſo much authority with theſe doughty champions as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper compoſure, or to an amicable diſpoſition towards each other.

## AN INSURRECTION. 1400.

It was not long before theſe paſſions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the reſpective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloceſter, conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conſpiracy, together with the earl of Saliſbury and lord Lumley, for raiſing an inſurrection, and for ſeizing the king's perſon at Windſor;[1] but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He ſuddenly withdrew to London; and the conſpirators, who came to Windſor with a body of five hundred horſe, found that they had miſſed this blow, on which all the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingſton upon Thames at the head of twenty thouſand men, moſtly drawn from the city; and his enemies, unable to reſiſt his power, diſperſed themſelves, with a view of raiſing their followers in the ſeveral counties which were the ſeat of their intereſt. But the adherents of the king were hot in the purſuit, and every where oppoſed themſelves to their progreſs. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the citizens;

and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the cuſtom of the times.[m] The citizens of Briſtol treated Spencer and Lumley in the ſame manner. The earl of Huntingdon, ſir Thomas Blount, and ſir Benedict Sely, who were alſo taken priſoners, ſuffered death, with many others of the conſpirators, by orders from Henry. And, when the quarters of theſe unhappy men were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen biſhops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the moſt indecent marks of joy and exultation.

But the ſpectacle, the moſt ſhocking to every one who retained any ſentiment either of honour or humanity, ſtill remained. The earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he preſented in triumph to Henry as a teſtimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was ſoon after duke of York by the death of his father, and firſt prince of the blood, had been inſtrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloceſter;[n] had then deſerted Richard, by whom he was truſted; had conſpired againſt the life of Henry, to whom he had ſworn allegiance; had betrayed his aſſociates, whom he had ſeduced into this enterpriſe; and now diſplayed, in the face of the world, theſe badges of his multiplied diſhonour.

Henry was ſenſible that, though the execution of theſe conſpirators might ſeem to give ſecurity to his throne, the animoſities which remain after ſuch bloody ſcenes are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increaſe, by any hazardous enterpriſe, thoſe numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a ſubject, he was believed to have ſtrongly imbibed all the principles of his father the duke of Lancaſter, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inſpired againſt the abuſes of the eſtabliſhed church; but, finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the throne by ſo precarious a title,

he thought ſuperſtition a neceſſary implement of public authority, and he reſolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted againſt hereſy; an indulgence which had proceeded, not from a ſpirit of toleration in the Romiſh church, but from the ignorance and ſimplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for ſtarting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be reſtrained by rigorous penalties. But, when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in ſome meaſure, the fetters of prejudice, the eccleſiaſtics called aloud for the puniſhment of his diſciples; and the king, who was very little ſcrupulous in his conduct, was eaſily induced to ſacrifice his principles to his intereſt, and to acquire the favour of the church by that moſt effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance againſt opponents. He engaged the parliament to paſs a law for that purpoſe. It was enacted that, when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate before the whole people.[o] This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautre, rector of St. Oſithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers; the king iſſued his writ for the execution;[p] and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the firſt inſtance of that kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to thoſe diſmal ſcenes which at that time were already but too familiar to the people.

But the utmoſt precaution and prudence of Henry could not ſhield him from thoſe numerous inquietudes which aſſailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover

his authority, or revenge his death.[q] But, though the confuſions in England tempted the French to engage in ſome enterpriſe by which they might diſtreſs their ancient enemy, the greater confuſions which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aſide his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms.[r] The attack of Guienne was alſo an inviting attempt, which the preſent factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gaſcons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refuſed to ſwear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change maſters:[s] but the earl of Worceſter, arriving with ſome Engliſh troops, gave countenance to the partiſans of Henry, and overawed their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gaſcons had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the pope of Rome; and they were ſenſible that, if they ſubmitted to France, it would be neceſſary for them to pay obedience to the pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to deteſt as a ſchiſmatic. Their principles on this head were too faſt rooted to admit of any ſudden or violent alteration.

## INSURRECTION IN WALES. 1401.

The revolution in England proved likewiſe the occaſion of an inſurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, deſcended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was cloſely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of

Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppreſſing his neighbour, and taking poſſeſſion of his eſtate.[t] Glendour, provoked at the injuſtice, and ſtill more at the indignity, recovered poſſeſſion by the ſword;[u] Henry ſent aſſiſtance to Gray;[w] the Welſh took part with Glendour; a troubleſome and tedious war was kindled, which Glendour long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural ſtrength of the country and the untamed ſpirit of its inhabitants.

As Glendour committed devaſtations promiſcuouſly on all the Engliſh, he infeſted the eſtate of the earl of Marche; and ſir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welſh chieftain. His troops were routed, and he was taken priſoner.[x] At the ſame time the earl himſelf, who had been allowed to retire to his caſtle of Wigmore, and who, though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell alſo into Glendour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales.[y] As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and, though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Piercies, to whoſe aſſiſtance he himſelf had owed his crown, he refuſed to the earl of Northumberland permiſſion to treat of his ranſom with Glendour.

The uncertainty in which Henry's affairs ſtood during a long time with France, as well as the confuſions incident to all great changes in government, tempted the Scots to make incurſions into England; and Henry, deſirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great ſupplies from his ſubjects, ſummoned at Weſtminſter a council of the peers, without the commons, and laid before them the ſtate of his affairs.[z] The military part of the feudal conſtitution was now much decayed; there remained only ſo much of that fabric as affected the civil rights and properties of

men; and the peers here undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition againſt Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers.[a] Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he eaſily made himſelf maſter; and he there ſummoned Robert III to do homage to him for his crown.[b] But, finding that the Scots would neither ſubmit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this uſeleſs bravado; and he diſbanded his army.

In the ſubſequent ſeaſon Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devaſtations on the northern counties. On his return home he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle enſued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himſelf was taken priſoner; as was Mordac earl of Fife, ſon of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottiſh king, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility.[c] When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſom his priſoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a freſh diſguſt to the family of Piercy.

## THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS. 1403.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the moſt likely to produce ingratitude on the one ſide, and diſcontent on the other. The ſovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne;

and the ſubject was not eaſily ſatisfied in the returns which he thought ſo great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his acceſſion, had beſtowed the office of conſtable on Northumberland for life,[d] and conferred other gifts on that family, theſe favours were regarded as their due; the refuſal of any other requeſt was deemed an injury. The impatient ſpirit of Harry Piercy, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour; he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief; he rouſed up all his partiſans to arms; and ſuch unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the ſame men, whom a few years before he had conducted againſt Richard, now followed his ſtandard in oppoſition to Henry. When war was ready to break out Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour. The king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he had intended to act againſt the Scots; and, knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them haſten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle Piercy ſent a manifeſto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, ſet that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which, he pretended, the nation had reaſon to complain. He upbraided him with the per-

jury of which he had been guilty when, on landing at Ravenſpur, he had ſworn upon the goſpels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, and that he would ever remain a faithful ſubject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in firſt dethroning, then murdering, that prince, and in uſurping on the title of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal ſucceſſion, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demiſe, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his ſovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refuſing to all his friends permiſſion to treat of his ranſom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having ſworn that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he would never levy any impoſitions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himſelf had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reaſon of that prince's arraignment and depoſition.[e] This manifeſto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties; the bravery of the two leaders promiſed an obſtinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about twelve thouſand men, a number which was not unmanageable by the commanders, gave reaſon to expect a great effuſion of blood on both ſides, and a very doubtful iſſue to the combat.

## BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.

We ſhall ſcarcely find any battle in thoſe ages where the ſhock was more terrible and more conſtant. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight: his gallant ſon, whoſe military

achievements were afterwards ſo renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, ſignalized himſelf on his father's footſteps; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field.[f] Piercy ſupported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival, amidſt the horror and confuſion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almoſt incredible; he ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould that day fall by his arm; he ſought him all over the field of battle; and, as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his preſence every where, had accoutred ſeveral captains in the royal garb, the ſword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many.[g] But, while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen that day, on both ſides, near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen; but the perſons of greateſt diſtinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, ſir Hugh Shirley, ſir Nicholas Gauſel, ſir Hugh Mortimer, ſir John Maſſey, ſir John Calverly. About ſix thouſand private men periſhed, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army.[h] The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were taken priſoners; the former was beheaded at Shrewſbury, the latter was treated with the courteſy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his ſickneſs, had levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but, being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York.[i] He pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and

even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worceſter and ſir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the inſurrection, no perſon engaged in this dangerous enterpriſe ſeems to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner.[k]

But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he never ſhould be truſted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven by a prince whoſe ſituation gave him ſuch reaſonable grounds of jealouſy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them: they roſe in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of ſuppreſſing ſingly thoſe inſurrections, which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The earl of Nottingham, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, then duke of Lancaſter, had beheaded at Briſtol, though they had remained quiet while Piercy was in the field, ſtill harboured in their breaſt a violent hatred againſt the enemy of their families; and they determined, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to ſeek revenge againſt him. They betook themſelves to arms before that powerful nobleman was prepared to join them; and, publiſhing a manifeſto, in which they reproached Henry with his uſurpation of the crown and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line ſhould be reſtored, and all public grievances be redreſſed. The earl of Weſtmoreland, whoſe power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to ſubdue them by a ſtratagem, which nothing but the greateſt folly and ſimplicity on their part could have rendered

ſucceſsful. He defired a conference with the archbiſhop and earl between the armies; he heard their grievances with great patience; he begged them to propoſe the remedies; he approved of every expedient which they ſuggeſted; he granted them all their demands; he alſo engaged that Henry ſhould give them entire ſatisfaction; and, when he ſaw them pleaſed with the facility of his conceſſions, he obſerved to them that, ſince amity was now, in effect, reſtored between them, it were better on both ſides to diſmiſs their forces, which otherwiſe would prove an inſupportable burden to the country. The archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpoſe; their troops diſbanded upon the field: but Weſtmoreland, who had ſecretly iſſued contrary orders to his army, ſeized the two rebels without reſiſtance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with haſty marches to ſuppreſs the inſurrection.[1] The trial and puniſhment of an archbiſhop might have proved a troubleſome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an oppoſition to form itſelf againſt that unuſual meaſure; the celerity of the execution alone could here render it ſafe and prudent. Finding that ſir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, made ſome ſcruple of acting on this occaſion, he appointed ſir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced ſentence of death upon the prelate, which was preſently executed. This was the firſt inſtance in England of a capital puniſhment inflicted on a biſhop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than thoſe of laics, were not to paſs with impunity. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the ſame ſummary manner: but, though many other perſons of condition, ſuch as lord Falconberg, ſir Ralph Haſtings, ſir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others ſeem to have fallen victims to Henry's ſeverity.

The earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf;[m] and the king, without oppoſition, reduced all the caſtles and fortreſſes belonging to theſe noblemen. He thence turned his arms againſt Glendour, over whom his ſon, the prince of Wales, had obtained ſome advantages: but that enemy, more troubleſome than dangerous, ſtill found means of defending himſelf in his faſtneſſes, and of eluding, though not reſiſting, all the force of England. In a ſubſequent ſeaſon the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north, in hopes of raiſing the people to arms; but found the country in ſuch a poſture as rendered all their attempts unſucceſsful. Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, levied ſome forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were ſlain.[n] This proſperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by ſuch unjuſtifiable means, and held it by ſuch an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valour, prudence, and addreſs, accuſtomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater aſcendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not ſupported by theſe active qualities, was ever able to confer.

## STATE OF SCOTLAND. 1407.

About the ſame time fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour who, by his ſituation, was moſt enabled to diſturb his government. Robert III, king of Scots, was a prince, though of ſlender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct: but Scotland at that time was ſtill leſs fitted than England for cheriſhing, or even enduring, ſovereigns of that cha-

racter. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at leaſt of a more boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and, not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the criminal purpoſe of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw in priſon David, his eldeſt nephew, who there periſhed by hunger. James alone, the younger brother of David, ſtood between that tyrant and the throne; and king Robert, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, with a view of ſending him to France, and intruſting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and, though there ſubſiſted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refuſed to reſtore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the ſhock of this laſt misfortune; and he ſoon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany.° Henry was now more ſenſible than ever of the importance of the acquiſition which he had made: while he retained ſuch a pledge he was ſure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependance; or, if offended, he could eaſily, by reſtoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the uſurper. But, though the king, by detaining James in the Engliſh court, had ſhewn himſelf ſomewhat deficient in generoſity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education; which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in ſome meaſure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The hoſtile diſpoſitions which of late had prevailed between France and England were reſtrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing in action. The jealouſies and civil commotions, with which both nations were diſturbed, kept each

of them from taking advantage of the unhappy ſituation of its neighbour. But, as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had ſooner been able to compoſe the Engliſh factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to look abroad, and to foment the animoſities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, ſo much diſtracted. He knew that one great ſource of the national diſcontent againſt his predeceſſor was the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new direction to the reſtleſs and unquiet ſpirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domeſtic wars and diſorders. That he might unite policy with force, he firſt entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and ſent that prince a ſmall body of troops, which ſupported him againſt his enemies.[p] Soon after he hearkened to more advantageous propoſals made him by the duke of Orleans, and diſpatched a greater body to ſupport that party:[q] but, the leaders of the oppoſite factions having made temporary accommodation, the intereſts of the Engliſh were ſacrificed; and this effort of Henry proved, in the iſſue, entirely vain and fruitleſs. The declining ſtate of his health, and the ſhortneſs of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate ſon carried to ſo great a length againſt the French monarchy.

## PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS.

Such were the military and foreign tranſactions of this reign; the civil and parliamentary are ſomewhat more memorable, and more worthy of our attention. During the two laſt reigns the elections of the commons had appeared a circumſtance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accuſed of uſing unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partiſans a

ſeat in that houſe. This practice formed one conſiderable article of charge againſt him in his depoſition; yet Henry ſcrupled not to tread in his footſteps, and to encourage the ſame abuſes in elections. Laws were enacted againſt ſuch undue influence, and even a ſheriff was puniſhed for an iniquitous return which he had made:[r] but laws were commonly at that time very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, ſuch as they were, ſtood on a ſurer baſis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the houſe of commons was little able to withſtand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the ariſtocracy, and though that houſe might eaſily be brought, at a particular time, to make the moſt unwarrantable conceſſions to either, the general inſtitutions of the ſtate ſtill remained invariable; the intereſts of the ſeveral members continued on the ſame footing; the ſword was in the hands of the ſubject; and the government, though thrown into temporary diſorder, ſoon ſettled itſelf on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign the king was obliged to court popularity; and the houſe of commons, ſenſible of their own importance, began to aſſume powers which had not uſually been exerciſed by their predeceſſors. In the firſt year of Henry they procured a law that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous meaſure, ſhould be excuſed by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the ſovereign.[s] In the ſecond year they inſiſted on maintaining the practice of not granting any ſupply before they received an anſwer to their petitions; which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince.[t] In the fifth year they deſired the king to remove from his houſehold four perſons who had diſpleaſed them, among whom was his own confeſſor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which theſe men had committed, yet, in order to gratify them, complied with their

requeſt.[u] In the ſixth year they voted the king ſupplies, but appointed treaſurers of their own to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the houſe.[w] In the eighth year they propoſed, for the regulation of the government and houſehold, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the houſehold, to ſwear to the obſervance of them.[x] The abridger of the records remarks the unuſual liberties taken by the ſpeaker and the houſe during this period.[y] But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage, ariſing from the preſent ſituation. In a ſubſequent parliament, when the ſpeaker made his cuſtomary application to the throne for liberty of ſpeech, the king, having now overcome all his domeſtic difficulties, plainly told him that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But, on the whole, the limitations of the government ſeem to have been more ſenſibly felt, and more carefully maintained, by Henry than by any of his predeceſſors.

During this reign, when the houſe of commons were at any time brought to make unwary conceſſions to the crown, they alſo ſhewed their freedom by a ſpeedy retractation of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well grounded jealouſy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament: and, as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refuſed him, an expreſs declaration againſt the claim of that nobleman; becauſe he knew that ſuch a declaration, in the preſent circumſtances, would have no authority, and would only ſerve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpoſe after a more artful and covert manner.

He procured a ſettlement of the crown on himſelf and his heirs male;[a] thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the Engliſh government. He thought that, though the houſe of Plantagenet had at firſt derived their title from a female, this was a remote event, unknown to the generality of the people; and, if he could once accuſtom them to the practice of excluding women, the title of the earl of Marche would gradually be forgotten and neglected by them. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long conteſts with France the injuſtice of the Salic law had been ſo much exclaimed againſt by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men, and it was now become impoſſible to eradicate it. The ſame houſe of commons, therefore, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, apprehenſive that they had overturned the foundations of the Engliſh government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might enſue even from the irregular elevation of the houſe of Lancaſter, applied with ſuch earneſtneſs for a new ſettlement of the crown that Henry yielded to their requeſt, and agreed to the ſucceſſion of the princeſſes of his family.[a] A certain proof that nobody was, in his heart, ſatisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to reſt it.

But, though the commons, during this reign, ſhewed a laudable zeal for liberty in their tranſactions with the crown, their efforts againſt the church were ſtill more extraordinary, and ſeemed to anticipate very much the ſpirit which became ſo general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know that the credit of theſe paſſages reſts entirely on one ancient hiſtorian;[b] but that hiſtorian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the intereſts of his order to preſerve the memory of ſuch tranſactions, much more to forge precedents which poſterity might, ſome time, be tempted to imitate. This

is a truth ſo evident, that the moſt likely way of accounting for the ſilence of the records on this head is by ſuppoſing that the authority of ſome churchmen was ſo great as to procure a razure, with regard to theſe circumſtances, which the indiſcretion of one of that order has happily preſerved to us.

In the ſixth of Henry the commons, who had been required to grant ſupplies, propoſed, in plain terms, to the king, that he ſhould ſeize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to ſerve the exigencies of the ſtate. They inſiſted that the clergy poſſeſſed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to diſqualify them from performing their miniſterial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this addreſs was preſented the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in perſon to the wars, ſent their vaſſals and tenants in all caſes of neceſſity; while at the ſame time they themſelves, who ſtaid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happineſs and proſperity of the ſtate. The ſpeaker ſmiled, and anſwered, without reſerve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very ſlender ſupply. The archbiſhop, however, prevailed in the diſpute; the king diſcouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower houſe had framed for ſtripping the church of her revenues.[c]

The commons were not diſcouraged by this repulſe; in the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before. They made a calculation of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thouſand marks a year, and contained eighteen thouſand four hundred ploughs of land: they propoſed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, ſix

thouſand eſquires, and a hundred hoſpitals, beſides twenty thouſand pounds a year, which the king might take for his own uſe; and they inſiſted that the clerical functions would be better performed than at preſent by fifteen thouſand pariſh prieſts, paid at the rate of ſeven marks apiece of yearly ſtipend.[d] This application was accompanied with an addreſs for mitigating the ſtatutes enacted againſt the Lollards, which ſhews from what ſource the addreſs came. The king gave the commons a ſevere reply; and, farther to ſatisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earneſt, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the diſſolution of the parliament.[e]

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1413.

We have now related almoſt all the memorable tranſactions of this reign, which was buſy and active, but produced few events that deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity. The king was ſo much employed in defending his crown, which he had obtained by unwarrantable means, and poſſeſſed by a bad title, that he had little leiſure to look abroad, or perform any action which might redound to the honour or advantage of the nation. His health declined ſome months before his death; he was ſubject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his ſenſes; and, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was viſibly approaching. He expired at Weſtminſter on the twentieth of March, in the forty-ſixth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign.

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had ſo much aided him in the acquiſition of it, was entirely loſt many years before the end of his reign: and he governed his people more by terror than by affection; more by his own policy than by their ſenſe of

duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion againſt his prince; the depoſition of a lawful king, guilty ſometimes, perhaps, of oppreſſion, but more frequently of indiſcretion; the excluſion of the true heir; the murder of his ſovereign and near relation; theſe were ſuch enormities as drew on him the hatred of his ſubjects, ſanctified all the rebellions againſt him, and made the executions, though not remarkably ſevere, which he found neceſſary for the maintenance of his authority, appear cruel as well as iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologize for theſe crimes, which muſt ever be held in deteſtation, it may be remarked that he was inſenſibly led into this blamable conduct by a train of incidents which few men poſſeſs virtue enough to withſtand. The injuſtice with which his predeceſſor had treated him, in firſt condemning him to baniſhment, then deſpoiling him of his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his loſt rights; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own ſecurity, as well as his ambition, made him an uſurper; and the ſteps have always been ſo few between the priſons of princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All theſe conſiderations make Henry's ſituation, if he retained any ſenſe of virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude with which he poſſeſſed his envied greatneſs, and the remorſes by which, it is ſaid, he was continually haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when ſeated upon the throne. But it muſt be owned that his prudence and vigilance and foreſight, in maintaining his power, were admirable; his command of temper remarkable; his courage, both military and political, without blemiſh; and he poſſeſſed many qualities which fitted him for his high ſtation, and which rendered his uſurpa-

tion of it, though pernicious in after times, rather ſalutary, during his own reign, to the Engliſh nation.

Henry was twice married. By his firſt wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four ſons, Henry his ſucceſſor in the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloceſter; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His ſecond wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no iſſue.

By an act of the fifth of this reign it is made felony to cut out any perſon's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act ſays, were very frequent. This ſavage ſpirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though perhaps it was increaſed by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

Commerce was very little underſtood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealouſy prevailed againſt merchant ſtrangers; and many reſtraints were by law impoſed upon them; namely, that they ſhould lay out in Engliſh manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the ſale of their goods; that they ſhould not buy or ſell with one another; and that all their goods ſhould be diſpoſed of three months after importation.[f] This laſt clauſe was found ſo inconvenient, that it was ſoon after repealed by parliament.

It appears that the expenſe of this king's houſehold amounted to the yearly ſum of nineteen thouſand five hundred pounds, money of that age.[g]

Guicciardin tells us that the Flemings in this century learned from Italy all the refinements in arts, which they taught the reſt of Europe. The progreſs, however, of the arts was ſtill very ſlow and backward in England.

HENRY V. RECOMMENDING HIS INFANT SON TO THE CARE OF HIS NOBLES.

# CHAPTER XIX.

HENRY V.
THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS: HIS REFORMATION: THE LOLLARDS: STATE OF FRANCE: BATTLE OF AZINCOUR: TREATY OF TROYE: MARRIAGE OF THE KING: HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## HENRY V.

1413....1422.

THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS....HIS REFORMATION....THE LOLLARDS, AND PUNISHMENT OF LORD COBHAM.... STATE OF FRANCE....INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM....BATTLE OF AZINCOUR....STATE OF FRANCE....NEW INVASION OF FRANCE....ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY....TREATY OF TROYE ....MARRIAGE OF THE KING....HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.... MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

### THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS.

THE many jealouſies, to which Henry IV's ſituation naturally expoſed him, had ſo infected his temper, that he had entertained unreaſonable ſuſpicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldeſt ſon: and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded that prince from all ſhare in public buſineſs, and was even diſpleaſed to ſee him at the head of armies; where his martial talents, though uſeful to the ſupport of government, acquired him a renown which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active ſpirit of young Henry,

reſtrained from its proper exerciſe, broke out into extravagancies of every kind; and the riot of pleaſure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the purſuits of ambition and the cares of government. This courſe of life threw him among companions whoſe diſorders, if accompanied with ſpirit and humour, he indulged and ſeconded; and he was detected in many ſallies which, to ſeverer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and ſtation. There even remains a tradition that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he ſcrupled not to accompany his riotous aſſociates in attacking the paſſengers on the ſtreets and highways, and deſpoiling them of their goods; and he found an amuſement in the incidents which the terror and regret of theſe defenceleſs people produced on ſuch occaſions. This extreme of diſſoluteneſs proved equally diſagreeable to his father, as that eager application to buſineſs which had at firſt given him occaſion of jealouſy; and he ſaw, in his ſon's behaviour, the ſame neglect of decency, the ſame attachment to low company, which had degraded the perſonal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation in general conſidered the young prince with more indulgence; and obſerved ſo many gleams of generoſity, ſpirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceaſed hoping for his amendment: and they aſcribed all the weeds, which ſhot up in that rich ſoil, to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his miniſters. There happened an incident which encouraged theſe agreeable views, and gave much occaſion for favourable reflections to all men of ſenſe and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, for ſome diſorders; and Henry was not aſhamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order

to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his preſence had not overawed the chief juſtice, he proceeded to inſult that magiſtrate on his tribunal; but Gaſcoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majeſty of the ſovereign and of the laws which he ſuſtained, ordered the prince to be carried to priſon for his rude behaviour.[h] The ſpectators were agreeably diſappointed when they ſaw the heir of the crown ſubmit peaceably to this ſentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midſt of its extravagant career.

## THE KING'S REFORMATION. 1413.

THE memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the proſpect of the future reign nowiſe diſagreeable to the nation, and increaſed the joy which the death of ſo unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occaſioned. The firſt ſteps taken by the young prince confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions entertained in his favour.[i] He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but ſtrictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their ſincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his preſence; and he thus diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents.[k] The wiſe miniſters of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been paying the higheſt court to him, and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief juſtice himſelf, who trembled to approach the royal preſence, met with praiſes inſtead of reproaches for his paſt conduct, and was exhorted to perſevere in the ſame rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The ſurpriſe of thoſe who expected an oppoſite behaviour augmented their ſatisfaction; and the cha-

racter of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own miſconduct, but alſo to make amends for thoſe iniquities into which policy or the neceſſity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did juſtice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obſequies with pomp and ſolemnity, and cheriſhed all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty and attachment towards him.[l] Inſtead of continuing the reſtraints which the jealouſy of his father had impoſed on the earl of Marche, he received that young nobleman with ſingular courteſy and favour; and by this magnanimity ſo gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after ſincerely attached to him, and gave him no diſturbance in his future government. The family of Piercy was reſtored to its fortune and honours.[m] The king ſeemed ambitious to bury all party diſtinctions in oblivion. The inſtruments of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancaſtrian intereſts more than from their merits, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters. Virtue ſeemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itſelf; the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement. All men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidſt the perſonal regard which was univerſally paid to him.

## THE LOLLARDS: PUNISHMENT OF COBHAM.

THERE remained among the people only one party diſtinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar, and commonly a very obſtinate, nature, the

popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were every day increaſing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil authority.[n] The enthuſiaſm by which theſe ſectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expreſſed againſt the eſtabliſhed hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry; who, either from a ſincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from a dread of the unknown conſequences which attend all important changes, was determined to execute the laws againſt ſuch bold innovators. The head of this ſect was ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and his military talents, and had on many occaſions acquired the eſteem both of the late and of the preſent king.[o] His high character and his zeal for the new ſect pointed him out to Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity; whoſe puniſhment would ſtrike a terror into the whole party, and teach them that they muſt expect no mercy under the preſent adminiſtration. He applied to Henry for a permiſſion to indict [p] lord Cobham; but the generous nature of the prince was averſe to ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion. He repreſented to the primate that reaſon and conviction were the beſt expedients for ſupporting truth; that all gentle means ought firſt to be tried, in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himſelf would endeavour, by a converſation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obſtinate in his opinions, and determined not to ſacrifice truths of ſuch infinite moment to his complaiſance for ſovereigns.[q] Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity againſt the inflexible hereſiarch. The primate indicted Cobham;

and, with the aſſiſtance of his three ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the tower, made his eſcape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold ſpirit of the man, provoked by perſecution and ſtimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the moſt criminal enterpriſes; and his unlimited authority over the new ſect proved that he well merited the attention of the civil magiſtrate. He formed in his retreat very violent deſigns againſt his enemies; and, diſpatching his emiſſaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to ſeize the perſon of the king at Eltham, and put their perſecutors to the ſword.[r] Henry, apprized of their intention, removed to Weſtminſter. Cobham was not diſcouraged by this diſappointment, but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's. The king, having ſhut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night time, ſeized ſuch of the conſpirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of the ſeveral parties who were haſtening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the ſecret of the conſpiracy; the reſt implicitly followed their leaders. But, upon the trial of the priſoners, the treaſonable deſigns of the ſect were rendered certain, both from evidence and from the confeſſion of the criminals themſelves.[s] Some were executed; the greater number pardoned.[t] Cobham himſelf, who made his eſcape by flight, was not brought to juſtice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt him as a heretic.[u] This criminal deſign, which was perhaps ſomewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought diſcredit upon the party, and checked the progreſs of that ſect, which had embraced the ſpeculative doctrines of Wickliffe,

and at the ſame time aſpired to a reformation of eccleſiaſtical abuſes.

Theſe two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the ſame degree by both of them. Common ſenſe and obvious reflection had diſcovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in diſcipline; but the age was not yet ſo far advanced as to be ſeized with the ſpirit of controverſy, or to enter into thoſe abſtruſe doctrines which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of hereſy alarmed the generality of the people; innovation in fundamental principles was ſuſpicious; curioſity was not, as yet, a ſufficient counterpoiſe to authority; and even many, who were the greateſt friends to the reformation of abuſes, were anxious to expreſs their deteſtation of the ſpeculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which, they feared, threw diſgrace on ſo good a cauſe. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament, which was ſummoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conſpiracy. That aſſembly paſſed ſevere laws againſt the new heretics: they enacted that whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary, beſides ſuffering capital puniſhment according to the laws formerly eſtabliſhed, ſhould alſo forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices of the two benches, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and all the chief magiſtrates in every city and borough, ſhould take an oath to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the extirpation of hereſy.[w] Yet this very parliament, when the king demanded ſupply, renewed the offer formerly preſſed upon his father, and entreated him to ſeize all the eccleſiaſtical revenues and convert them to the uſe of the crown.[x] The clergy were alarmed; they could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent; they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended on capital abbies in Nor-

mandy, and had been bequeathed to thoſe abbies when that province remained united to England; and Chichely, now archbiſhop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow by giving occupation to the king, and by perſuading him to undertake a war againſt France, in order to recover his loſt rights to that kingdom.[y]

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his ſon not to allow the Engliſh to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed inteſtine commotions: but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour; the nobility, in ſharing his dangers, might attach themſelves to his perſon; and all the reſtleſs ſpirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural diſpoſition of Henry ſufficiently inclined him to follow this advice; and the civil diſorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond thoſe of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

## STATE OF FRANCE. 1415.

The death of Charles V, which followed ſoon after that of Edward III, and the youth of his ſon, Charles VI, put the two kingdoms for ſome time in a ſimilar ſituation; and it was not to be apprehended that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakneſs of the other. The jealouſies alſo between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had diſtracted the affairs of France rather more than thoſe between the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Gloceſter, Richard's three uncles, diſordered thoſe of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterpriſe againſt foreign ſtates. But, in proportion as Charles advanced in years, the factions were compoſed; his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died;

and the king himſelf, aſſuming the reins of government, diſcovered ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promiſing ſtate of affairs was not of long duration: the unhappy prince fell ſuddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and, though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his judgment was gradually but ſenſibly impaired, and no ſteady plan of government could be purſued by him. The adminiſtration of affairs was diſputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his couſin-german, John duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former; the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extenſive dominions, derived a luſtre from his ſuperior power; the people were divided between theſe contending princes; and the king, now reſuming, now dropping, his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular ſettlement of the ſtate by the final prevalence of either party.

At length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeeming to be moved by the cries of the nation and by the interpoſition of common friends, agreed to bury all paſt quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into ſtrict amity. They ſwore before the altar the ſincerity of their friendſhip; the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed ſacred among men. But all this ſolemn preparation was only a cover for the baſeſt treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He procured his rival to be aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris. He endeavoured for ſome time to conceal the part which he took in the crime: but, being detected, he embraced a reſolution ſtill more criminal and more dangerous to ſociety, by openly avowing and juſtifying it.[s] The parliament itſelf of Paris, the tribunal

of juſtice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that aſſembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no ſentence of condemnation againſt this deteſtable doctrine.[a] The ſame queſtion was afterwards agitated before the council of Conſtance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble deciſion, in favour of the contrary opinion, was procured from theſe fathers of the church, the miniſters of peace and of religion. But the miſchievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywiſe doubtful, appeared ſufficiently from the preſent incidents. The commiſſion of this crime, which deſtroyed all truſt and ſecurity, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, ſeized ſometimes by one party, ſometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waſte by mutual depredations; aſſaſſinations were every where committed from the animoſity of the ſeveral leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was diſtinguiſhed into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; ſo the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, diſtracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual ſcene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace; their faithful miniſters were butchered or impriſoned before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidſt theſe enraged factions, to be diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this ſcene of general violence there roſe into ſome conſideration a body of men, which uſually makes no figure in public tranſactions even during the moſt peaceful times; and that was the univerſity of Paris, whoſe opinion was ſometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied diſputes between the parties. The ſchiſm, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occaſioned frequent controverſies in the univerſity, had raiſed the profeſſors to an unuſual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and ſuperſtition had beſtowed on the former a weight, to which reaſon and knowledge are not, of themſelves, anywiſe entitled among men. But there was another ſociety whoſe ſentiments were much more deciſive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the moſt violent outrages againſt the oppoſite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made intereſt with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themſelves on one ſide or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

The advantage which might be made of theſe confuſions was eaſily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which uſually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel by alternately ſending aſſiſtance to each; but the preſent ſovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, determined to puſh his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that diſtracted kingdom. But, while he was making preparations for this end, he tried to effect his purpoſe by negociation: and he ſent over ambaſſadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, but demanding Catharine, the French

king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of crowns as her portion; one million ſix hundred thouſand as the arrears of king John's ranſom; and the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been raviſhed from England by the arms of Philip Auguſtus; together with the ſuperiority of Brittany and Flanders.[b] Such exorbitant demands ſhew that he was ſenſible of the preſent miſerable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, diſcover their conſciouſneſs of the ſame melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princeſs in marriage; to pay him eight hundred thouſand crowns; to reſign the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories.[c] As Henry rejected theſe conditions, and ſcarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment his preparations for war; and, having aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conqueſt, he came to the ſea ſide with a purpoſe of embarking on his expedition.

But, while Henry was meditating conqueſts upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himſelf in danger from a conſpiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon of the late duke of York, having eſpouſed the ſiſter of the earl of Marche, had zealouſly embraced the intereſts of that family; and had held ſome conferences with lord Scrope of Maſham, and ſir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conſpirators, as ſoon as detected, acknowledged their guilt to the king;[d] and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. The utmoſt that could be ex-

pected of the beſt king in thoſe ages was, that he would ſo far obſerve the eſſentials of juſtice as not to make an innocent perſon a victim to his ſeverity; but, as to the formalities of law, which are often as material as the eſſentials themſelves, they were ſacrificed without ſcruple to the leaſt intereſt or convenience. A jury of commoners was ſummoned; the three conſpirators were indicted before them; the conſtable of Southampton caſtle ſwore that they had ſeparately confeſſed their guilt to him. Without other evidence, ſir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed; but, as the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to ſummon a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence preſided. The evidence given before the jury was read to them; the priſoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence, but received ſentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unſatisfactory; and the ſentence was ſoon after executed. The earl of Marche was accuſed of having given his approbation to the conſpiracy, and received a general pardon from the king.[e] He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to him, or had made reparation by his early repentance and diſcovery.[f]

## INVASION OF FRANCE.

The ſucceſſes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over thoſe of France, have been much owing to the favourable ſituation of the former kingdom. The Engliſh, happily ſeated in an iſland, could make advantage of every miſfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little expoſed to the danger of repriſals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius,

or found their enemy divided by inteſtine factions, or were ſupported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and, as all theſe circumſtances concurred at preſent to favour their enterpriſe, they had reaſon to expect from it proportionable ſucceſs. The duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been ſecretly ſoliciting the alliance [g] of England; and Henry knew that this prince, though he ſcrupled at firſt to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he ſaw any probability of ſucceſs, both aſſiſt him with his Flemiſh ſubjects, and draw over to the ſame ſide all his numerous partiſans in France. Truſting, therefore, to this circumſtance, but without eſtabliſhing any concert with the duke, he put to ſea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſtly archers. He immediately began the ſiege of that place, which was valiantly defended by d'Eſtouteville, and under him by de Guitri, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility: but, as the garriſon was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at laſt obliged to capitulate; and he promiſed to ſurrender the place if he received no ſuccour before the eighteenth of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him. Henry, taking poſſeſſion of the town, placed a garriſon in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with Engliſh.

The fatigues of this ſiege, and the unuſual heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo waſted the Engliſh army, that Henry could enter on no farther enterpriſe, and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had diſmiſſed his tranſports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coaſts; and he lay under a neceſſity of marching by land to Calais before he could reach a place of ſafety. A numerous French army, of fourteen thouſand men at arms and forty thouſand foot, was by this time aſſembled

in Normandy under the conſtable d'Albret; a force which, if prudently conducted, was ſufficient either to trample down the Engliſh in the open field, or to haraſs and reduce to nothing their ſmall army, before they could finiſh ſo long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiouſly offered to ſacrifice his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but, his propoſal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valour and conduct through all the oppoſition of the enemy.[h] That he might not diſcourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expoſe them to thoſe hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made ſlow and deliberate journies[i] till he reached the Somme, which he purpoſed to paſs at the ford of Blanquetague; the ſame place where Edward, in a like ſituation, had before eſcaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impaſſable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a ſtrong body on the oppoſite bank;[k] and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to ſeek for a ſafe paſſage. He was continually haraſſed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; ſaw bodies of troops on the other ſide ready to oppoſe every attempt; his proviſions were cut off; his ſoldiers languiſhed with ſickneſs and fatigue; and his affairs ſeemed to be reduced to a deſperate ſituation: when he was ſo dexterous or ſo fortunate as to ſeize by ſurpriſe a paſſage near St. Quintin, which had not been ſufficiently guarded, and he ſafely carried over his army.[l]

## BATTLE OF AZINCOUR

Henry then bent his march northwards to Calais; but he was ſtill expoſed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had alſo paſſed the Somme, and threw themſelves full in his way, with a purpoſe of intercepting his retreat. After he

had paſſed the ſmall river of Ternois at Blangi, he was ſurpriſed to obſerve from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and ſo poſted that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his ſafety and all his fortunes now depended. The Engliſh army was little more than half the number which had diſembarked at Harfleur; and they laboured under every diſcouragement and neceſſity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of every kind. Henry's ſituation was exactly ſimilar to that of Edward at Creſſy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of theſe great events, inſpiring the Engliſh with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their preſent difficulties. The king likewiſe obſerved the ſame prudent conduct which had been followed by theſe great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected in that poſture the attack of the enemy.[m]

Had the French conſtable been able, either to reaſon juſtly upon the preſent circumſtances of the two armies, or to profit by paſt experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till neceſſity, obliging the Engliſh to advance, had made them relinquiſh the advantages of their ſituation. But the impetuous valour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in ſuperior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the ſource of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horſeback, and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the Engliſh archers, who had fixed palliſadoes in their front to break the impreſſion of the enemy, and who ſafely plied them, from behind that defence, with a ſhower of arrows which

nothing could reſiſt.[n] The clay ſoil, moiſtened by ſome rain which had lately fallen, proved another obſtacle to the force of the French cavalry; the wounded men and horſes diſcompoſed their ranks; the narrow compaſs in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order; the whole army was a ſcene of confuſion, terror, and diſmay; and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the Engliſh archers, who were light and unencumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and ſeize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their preſent poſture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence; they hewed them in pieces without reſiſtance;[o] and, being ſeconded by the men at arms, who alſo puſhed on againſt the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, diſmounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of oppoſition was over the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners; and, having advanced with uninterrupted ſucceſs to the open plain, they there ſaw the remains of the French rear-guard, which ſtill maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the ſame time they heard an alarm from behind; ſome gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen upon the Engliſh baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, ſeeing the enemy on all ſides of him, began to entertain apprehenſions from his priſoners, and he thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but, on diſcovering the truth, he ſtopped the ſlaughter, and was ſtill able to ſave a great number.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility ſlain or taken priſoners. Among the former were the conſtable himſelf, the count of Nevers and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Alen-

çon, the duke of Barre, the count of Marle. The moſt eminent priſoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the mareſchal of Boucicaut. An archbiſhop of Sens alſo was ſlain in this battle. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thouſand men; and, as the ſlaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of theſe eight thouſand were gentlemen. Henry was maſter of fourteen thouſand priſoners. The perſon of chief note, who fell among the Engliſh, was the duke of York, who periſhed fighting by the king's ſide, and had an end more honourable than his life. He was ſucceeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, ſon of the earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the Engliſh who were ſlain exceeded not forty; though ſome writers, with greater probability, make the number more conſiderable.

The three great battles of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Azincour, bear a ſingular reſemblance to each other in their moſt conſiderable circumſtances. In all of them there appears the ſame temerity in the Engliſh princes, who, without any object of moment, merely for the ſake of plunder, had ventured ſo far into the enemy's country as to leave themſelves no retreat; and, unleſs ſaved by the utmoſt imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very ſituation, expoſed to inevitable deſtruction. But, allowance being made for this temerity, (which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in thoſe ages, ſeems to have been in ſome meaſure unavoidable) there appears, in the day of action, the ſame preſence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmneſs, and precaution, on the part of the Engliſh; the ſame precipitation, confuſion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French; and the events were ſuch as might have been expected from ſuch oppoſite conduct. The immediate conſequences too of theſe three great victories were ſimilar; inſtead of puſhing the

French with vigour, and taking advantage of their conſternation, the Engliſh princes, after their victory, ſeem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leiſure to recover from his loſſes. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour; he carried his priſoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of Engliſh troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the ſmall reſources of their kingdoms, were the cauſe of theſe continual interruptions in their hoſtilities; and, though the maxims of war were in general deſtructive, their military operations were mere incurſions, which, without any ſettled plan, they carried on againſt each other. The luſtre, however, attending the victory of Azincour, procured ſome ſupplies from the Engliſh parliament, though ſtill unequal to the expenſes of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables; and they conferred on him, for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the ſubſidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This conceſſion is more conſiderable than that which had been granted to Richard II by his laſt parliament, and which was afterwards, on his depoſition, made ſo great an article of charge againſt him.

## STATE OF FRANCE. 1416.

But, during this interruption of hoſtilities from England, France was expoſed to all the furies of civil war; and the ſeveral parties became every day more enraged againſt each other. The duke of Burgundy, confident that the French miniſters and generals were entirely diſcredited by the misfortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to reinſtate himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government, as well as of the perſon

of the king. But his partiſans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in ſubjection; the duke deſpaired of ſucceſs; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately diſbanded in the Low Countries.[p] He was ſoon after invited to make a new attempt, by ſome violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen Iſabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable ſpirit of that princeſs was never able to forgive. The public neceſſities obliged the count of Armagnac, created conſtable of France in the place of d'Albret, to ſeize the great treaſures which Iſabella had amaſſed; and, when ſhe expreſſed her diſpleaſure at this injury, he inſpired into the weak mind of the king ſome jealouſies concerning her conduct, and puſhed him to ſeize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Bois-bourdon, her favourite, whom he accuſed of a commerce of gallantry with that princeſs. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a guard;[q] and, after ſuffering theſe multiplied inſults, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her ſon, the dauphin Charles, a youth of ſixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, ſhe extended her animoſity to him, and ſought his deſtruction with the moſt unrelenting hatred. She had ſoon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpoſe effectual. The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army. He made himſelf maſter of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy. Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themſelves of his party.[r] He got poſſeſſion of Beaumont, Pontoiſe, Vernon, Meulant, Montlheri, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, carrying farther his progreſs towards the weſt, he ſeized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortreſſes; and was at laſt

able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye, and openly declared againſt thoſe miniſters who, ſhe ſaid, detained her huſband in captivity.[s]

Meanwhile the partiſans of Burgundy raiſed a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the inſurrection of the people, which in a moment became ſo impetuous that nothing could oppoſe it. The perſon of the king was ſeized; the dauphin made his eſcape with difficulty; great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered; the count himſelf, and many perſons of note, were thrown into priſon; murders were daily committed from private animoſity, under pretence of faction; and the populace, not ſatiated with their fury, and deeming the courſe of public juſtice too dilatory, broke into the priſons, and put to death the count of Armagnac, and all the other nobility who were there confined.[t]

## NEW INVASION OF FRANCE. 1417.

While France was in ſuch furious combuſtion, and was ſo ill prepared to reſiſt a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected ſome treaſure, and levied an army, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thouſand men; and met with no conſiderable oppoſition from any quarter. He made himſelf maſter of Falaiſe; Evereux and Caen ſubmitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates; and Henry, having ſubdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand men from England,[u] formed the ſiege of Rouen, which was defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſeconded by the inhabitants, to the number of fifteen thouſand.[x] The cardinal des Urſins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretenſions: but the king replied to him in ſuch terms as ſhewed

that he was fully ſenſible of all his preſent advantages; 'Do you not ſee,' ſaid he, 'that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no ſovereign; I have juſt pretenſions to that kingdom; every thing is here in the utmoſt confuſion; no one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have a more ſenſible proof that the Being, who diſpoſes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?'

But, though Henry had opened his mind to this ſcheme of ambition, he ſtill continued to negociate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more ſecure, though leſs conſiderable, advantages. He made, at the ſame time, offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, carried the appearance of legal authority;[a] and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true intereſts of their country.[a] Theſe two parties alſo carried on a continual negociation with each other. The terms propoſed on all ſides were perpetually varying; the events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet, intermingled with each other; and the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty. After many negociations, Henry offered the queen and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire ſovereignty.[b] Theſe terms were ſubmitted to; there remained only ſome circumſtances to adjuſt, in order to the entire completion of the treaty: but in this interval the duke of Burgundy ſecretly finiſhed his treaty with the dauphin; and theſe two princes agreed to ſhare the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies.[c]

THIS alliance, which ſeemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther ſucceſs, proved, in the iſſue, the moſt favourable event that could have happened for his pretenſions. Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever ſincere in their mutual engagements is uncertain; but very fatal effects reſulted from their momentary and ſeeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the Engliſh; but, how both or either of them could with ſafety venture upon this conference, it ſeemed ſomewhat difficult to contrive. The aſſaſſination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and ſtill more his open avowal of the deed and defence of the doctrine, tended to diſſolve all the bands of civil ſociety; and even men of honour, who deteſted the example, might deem it juſt, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect, any truſt, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual ſecurity which were propoſed by the miniſters of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montereau; the duke lodged in the caſtle; the dauphin in the town, which was divided from the caſtle by the river Yonne; the bridge between them was choſen for the place of interview; two high rails were drawn acroſs the bridge; the gates on each ſide were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by thoſe of the duke; the princes were to enter into the intermediate ſpace by the oppoſite gates, accompanied each by ten perſons, and, with all theſe marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendſhip. But it appeared that no precautions are ſufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. Tannegui

de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partiſans of the late duke of Orleans; and they determined to ſeize the opportunity of revenging on the aſſaſſin the murder of that prince. They no ſooner entered the rails than they drew their ſwords, and attacked the duke of Burgundy: his friends were aſtoniſhed, and thought not of making any defence; and all of them either ſhared his fate, or were taken priſoners by the retinue of the dauphin.[d]

The extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the ſecret of the conſpiracy; but, as the deed was committed under his eye, by his moſt intimate friends, who ſtill retained their connexions with him, the blame of the action, which was certainly more imprudent than criminal, fell entirely upon him. The whole ſtate of affairs was every where changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, paſſionately devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the higheſt fury againſt the dauphin. The court of king Charles entered from intereſt into the ſame views; and, as all the miniſters of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foreſaw their downfall if the dauphin ſhould recover poſſeſſion of his father's perſon, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. The queen, perſevering in her unnatural animoſity againſt her ſon, increaſed the general flame, and inſpired into the king, as far as he was ſuſceptible of any ſentiment, the ſame prejudices by which ſhe herſelf had long been actuated. But, above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himſelf bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to proſecute the aſſaſſin to the utmoſt extremity. And, in this general tranſport of rage, every conſideration of national and family intereſt was buried in oblivion by all parties; the ſubjection to a foreign enemy, the

expulſion of the lawful heir, the ſlavery of the kingdom, appeared but ſmall evils if they led to the gratification of the preſent paſſion.

The king of England had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, profited extremely by the diſtractions of France, and was daily making a conſiderable progreſs in Normandy. He had taken Rouen after an obſtinate ſiege;* he had made himſelf maſter of Pontoiſe and Giſors; he even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms had obliged the court to remove to Troye; and, in the midſt of his ſucceſſes, he was agreeably ſurpriſed to find his enemies, inſtead of combining againſt him for their mutual defence, diſpoſed to ruſh into his arms, and to make him the inſtrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, without ſtipulating any thing for himſelf, except the proſecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his ſiſter, was willing to ſacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finiſh this aſtoniſhing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a ſtranger, Henry went to Troye, accompanied by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of ſeeing any thing but through the eyes of thoſe who attended him; as they, on their part, ſaw every thing through the medium of their paſſions. The treaty, being already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, and ſigned, and ratified; Henry's will ſeemed to be a law throughout the whole negociation; nothing was attended to but his advantages.

## TREATY OF TROYE. 1420.

The principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine; that king Charles, during his lifetime, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that that kingdom ſhould paſs to his heirs general; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities, of France ſhould ſwear that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent; that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of Charles, the pretended dauphin; and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace or truce with him but by common conſent and agreement.[f]

Such was the tenor of this famous treaty; a treaty which, as nothing but the moſt violent animoſity could dictate it, ſo nothing but the power of the ſword could carry into execution. It is hard to ſay whether its conſequences, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It muſt have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province: it would have entirely disjointed the ſucceſſion of the latter, and have brought on the deſtruction of every deſcendant of the royal family; as the houſes of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itſelf, whoſe titles were preferable to that of the Engliſh princes, would, on that account, have been expoſed to perpetual jealouſy and perſecution from the ſovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency in Henry's

claim, which no art could palliate: for, beſides the inſuperable objections to which Edward IIId's pretenſions were expoſed, he was not heir to that monarch. If female ſucceſſion were admitted, the right had devolved on the houſe of Mortimer. Allowing that Richard II was a tyrant, and that Henry IVth's merits in depoſing him were ſo great towards the Engliſh as to juſtify that nation in placing him on the throne, Richard had nowiſe offended France, and his rival had merited nothing of that kingdom. It could not poſſibly be pretended that the crown of France was become an appendage to that of England; and that a prince, who by any means got poſſeſſion of the latter, was, without farther queſtion, entitled to the former. So that, on the whole, it muſt be allowed that Henry's claim to France was, if poſſible, ſtill more unintelligible than the title by which his father had mounted the throne of England.

## MARRIAGE OF THE KING.

But, though all theſe conſiderations were overlooked amidſt the hurry of paſſion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would neceſſarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to puſh his preſent advantages, and allow men no leiſure for reaſon or reflection. In a few days after he eſpouſed the princeſs Catharine; he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that capital; he obtained, from the parliament and the three eſtates, a ratification of the treaty of Troye; he ſupported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a ſentence againſt the murderers of his father; and he immediately turned his arms with ſucceſs againſt the adherents of the dauphin, who, as ſoon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the ſtyle and authority of regent,

and appealed to God and his ſword for the maintenance of his title.

The firſt place that Henry ſubdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a ſlight reſiſtance. With the ſame facility he made himſelf maſter of Montereau. The defence of Melun was more obſtinate; Barbaſan the governor held out for the ſpace of four months againſt the beſiegers, and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate. Henry ſtipulated to ſpare the lives of all the garriſon, except ſuch as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and, as Barbaſan himſelf was ſuſpected to be of the number, his puniſhment was demanded by Philip: but the king had the generoſity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution.[g]

The neceſſity of providing ſupplies, both of men and money, obliged Henry to go over to England; and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his abſence. The authority which naturally attends ſucceſs procured from the Engliſh parliament a ſubſidy of a fifteenth: but, if we may judge by the ſcantineſs of the ſupply, the nation was nowiſe ſanguine on their king's victories; and, in proportion as the proſpect of their union with France became nearer, they began to open their eyes, and to ſee the dangerous conſequences with which that event muſt neceſſarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry that he had other reſources beſides pecuniary ſupplies from his native ſubjects. The provinces which he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his ſtandard all men of ambitious ſpirits in England, who deſired to ſignalize themſelves by arms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thouſand archers and four thouſand horſemen,[h] and marched them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Every thing had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the duke of Exeter; but there had happened, in another quarter

of the kingdom, a misfortune which haſtened the king's embarkation.

The detention of the young king of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry; and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preſerved, during the whole courſe of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But, when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progreſs made by Henry, and the near proſpect of his ſucceſſion to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foreſaw their own inevitable ruin, if the ſubjection of their ally left them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already ſo much ſuperior in power and riches. The regent entered into the ſame views; and, though he declined an open rupture with England, he permitted a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his ſecond ſon, to be tranſported into France for the ſervice of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he obliged to ſend orders to his countrymen to leave the French ſervice; but the Scottiſh general replied that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was nowiſe entitled to authority. Theſe troops, therefore, continued ſtill to act under the earl of Buchan, and were employed by the dauphin to oppoſe the progreſs of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Bauge. The Engliſh were defeated; the duke himſelf was ſlain by ſir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms; and the earls of Somerſet,[i] Dorſet, and Huntingdon, were taken priſoners.[k] This was the firſt action that turned the tide of ſucceſs againſt the Engliſh; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his ſervice and reward the valour and conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of conſtable.

But the arrival of the king of England with ſo conſiderable an army was more than ſufficient to repair this loſs. Henry was received at Paris with great expreſſions of joy; ſo obſtinate were the prejudices of the people: and he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been beſieged by the dauphin. That prince raiſed the ſiege on the approach of the Engliſh; and, being reſolved to decline a battle, he retired with his army.[l] Henry made himſelf maſter of Dreux without a blow. He laid ſiege to Meaux at the ſolicitation of the Pariſians, who were much incommoded by the garriſon of that place. This enterpriſe employed the Engliſh arms during the ſpace of eight months. The baſtard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an obſtinate defence; but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery; he was accuſtomed to hang, without diſtinction, all the Engliſh and Burgundians who fell into his hands; and Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the ſame tree which he had made the inſtrument of his inhuman executions.[m]

This ſucceſs was followed by the ſurrender of many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which held for the dauphin; that prince was chaſed beyond the Loire, and he almoſt totally abandoned all the northern provinces; he was even purſued into the ſouth by the united arms of the Engliſh and Burgundians, and threatened with total deſtruction. Notwithſtanding the bravery and fidelity of his captains, he ſaw himſelf unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it neceſſary to temporize, and to avoid all hazardous actions, with a rival who had gained ſo much the aſcendant over him. And, to crown all the other proſperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a ſon, who was called by his father's name, and whoſe birth was celebrated by

rejoicings no leſs pompous and no leſs ſincere at Paris than at London. The infant prince ſeemed to be univerſally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies.

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1422.

But the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the ſummit, was ſtopped ſhort by the hand of nature; and all his mighty projects vaniſhed into ſmoke. He was ſeized with a fiſtula, a malady which the ſurgeons at that time had not ſkill enough to cure; and he was at laſt ſenſible that his diſtemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching. He ſent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, whom he had honoured with his friendſhip; and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his laſt will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue, towards his infant ſon, the ſame fidelity and attachment which they had always profeſſed to himſelf during his lifetime, and which had been cemented by ſo many mutual good offices. He expreſſed his indifference on the approach of death; and, though he regretted that he muſt leave unfiniſhed a work ſo happily begun, he declared himſelf confident that the final acquiſition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the duke of Gloceſter; and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy; and adviſed them never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Azincour till his ſon were of age, and could himſelf hold the reins of government. And he conjured them, if the ſucceſs of their arms ſhould not enable them to

place young Henry on the throne of France, never, at leaſt, to make peace with that kingdom, unleſs the enemy, by the ceſſion of Normandy and its annexation to the crown of England, made compenſation for all the hazard and expenſe of his enterpriſe.[n]

He next applied himſelf to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the ſeven penitential pſalms. When that paſſage of the fifty-firſt pſalm was read, 'build thou the walls of Jeruſalem,' he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his ſerious intention, after he ſhould have fully ſubdued France, to conduct a cruſade againſt the infidels, and recover poſſeſſion of the holy land.[o] So ingenious are men in deceiving themſelves, that Henry forgot, in thoſe moments, all the blood ſpilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble reſolve, which, as the mode of theſe enterpriſes was now paſt, he certainly would never have carried into execution. He expired the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This prince poſſeſſed many eminent virtues; and, if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unſtained by any conſiderable blemiſh. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field; the boldneſs of his enterpriſes was no leſs remarkable than his perſonal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by addreſs and clemency. The Engliſh, dazzled by the luſtre of his character ſtill more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title; the French almoſt forgot that he was an enemy; and his care of maintaining juſtice in his civil adminiſtration, and preſerving diſcipline in his armies, made ſome amends to both nations for the calamities inſeparable from thoſe wars in which his ſhort

reign was almoſt entirely occupied. That he could forgive the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown than himſelf, is a ſure indication of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied ſo entirely on his friendſhip is no leſs a proof of his eſtabliſhed character for candour and ſincerity. There remain in hiſtory few inſtances of ſuch mutual truſt, and ſtill fewer where neither party found reaſon to repent it.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His ſtature was ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes.[P] He left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one ſon, not full nine months old; whoſe misfortunes, in the courſe of his life, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father.

In leſs than two months after Henry's death Charles VI of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for ſeveral years, poſſeſſed only the appearance of royal authority; yet was this mere appearance of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh; and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poictiers by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is uſually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catharine of France, Henry's widow, married, ſoon after his death, a Welſh gentleman, ſir Owen Tudor, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper; of whom the eldeſt was created earl of Richmond, the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THE long ſchiſm, which had divided the Latin church for near forty years, was finally terminated in this reign by the council of Conſtance; which depoſed the pope, John XXIII, for his crimes, and elected Martin V in his place, who was acknowledged by almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe. This great and unuſual act of authority in the council gave the Roman pontiffs ever after a mortal antipathy to thoſe aſſemblies. The ſame jealouſy which had long prevailed in moſt European countries, between the civil ariſtocracy and monarchy, now alſo took place between theſe powers in the eccleſiaſtical body. But the great ſeparation of the biſhops in the ſeveral ſtates, and the difficulty of aſſembling them, gave the pope a mighty advantage, and made it more eaſy for him to centre all the powers of the hierarchy in his own perſon. The cruelty and treachery which attended the puniſhment of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, the unhappy diſciples of Wickliffe, (who, in violation of a ſafe conduct, were burned alive for their errors by the council of Conſtance) prove this melancholy truth, that toleration is none of the virtues of prieſts in any form of eccleſiaſtical government. But, as the Engliſh nation had little or no concern in theſe great tranſactions, we are here the more conciſe in relating them.

The firſt commiſſion of array which we meet with was iſſued in this reign.[q] The military part of the feudal ſyſtem, which was the moſt eſſential circumſtance of it, was entirely diſſolved, and could no longer ſerve for the defence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, empowered certain commiſſioners to take, in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies,

and to keep them in readineſs for reſiſting an enemy. This was the era when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps ſtill leſs orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts only to fifty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen pounds ten ſhillings and ten pence a year.[r] This is nearly the ſame with the revenue of Henry III; and the kings of England had neither become much richer nor poorer in the courſe of ſo many years. The ordinary expenſe of the government amounted to forty-two thouſand five hundred and ſeven pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence; ſo that the king had a ſurplus only of thirteen thouſand two hundred and ſix pounds fourteen ſhillings for the ſupport of his houſehold, for his wardrobe, for the expenſe of embaſſies, and other articles. This ſum was nowiſe ſufficient; he was, therefore, obliged to have frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies; and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expenſe, which neither the prince's ordinary revenue, nor the extraordinary ſupplies, were able to bear; and the ſovereign was always reduced to many miſerable ſhifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and ſometimes the crown itſelf;[s] he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithſtanding all theſe expedients, to ſtop in the midſt of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy. The high pay which was given to ſoldiers agreed very ill with this low income. All the extraordinary ſupplies granted by parliament to Henry during the courſe of his reign were only ſeven tenths and fifteenths, about two hundred and three thouſand pounds.[t] It is eaſy to compute how ſoon this money muſt be exhauſted by armies of twenty-four thouſand archers and ſix

thouſand horſe, when each archer had ſix-pence a day,[w] and each horſeman two ſhillings. The moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes proved commonly fruitleſs when ſupported by ſo poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred made him pay dear for his victories. The civil adminiſtration likewiſe, even in time of peace, could never be very regular, where the government was ſo ill enabled to ſupport itſelf. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales.[w] It was in vain that the parliament pretended to reſtrain him from arbitrary practices when he was reduced to ſuch neceſſities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for inſtance, had been expreſsly guarded againſt by the Great Charter itſelf, and was frequently complained of by the commons, it was found abſolutely impracticable to aboliſh it; and the parliament at length, ſubmitting to it as a legal prerogative, contented themſelves with enacting laws to limit and confine it. The duke of Gloceſter, in the reign of Richard II, poſſeſſed a revenue of ſixty thouſand crowns (about thirty thouſand pounds a year of our preſent money), as we learn from Froiſſard,[x] and was conſequently richer than the king himſelf, if all circumſtances be duly conſidered.

It is remarkable that the city of Calais alone was an annual expenſe to the crown of nineteen thouſand one hundred and nineteen pounds;[y] that is, above a third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortreſs was of no uſe to the defence of England, and only gave that kingdom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland coſt two thouſand pounds a year over and above its own revenue, which was certainly very low. Every thing conſpires to give us a very mean idea of the ſtate of Europe in thoſe ages.

From the moſt early times, till the reign of Edward III, the denomination of money had never been altered: a pound ſterling

was ſtill a pound troy; that is, about three pounds of our preſent money. That conqueror was the firſt that innovated in this important article. In the twentieth of his reign he coined twenty-two ſhillings from a pound troy; in his twenty-ſeventh year he coined twenty-five ſhillings. But Henry V, who was alſo a conqueror, raiſed ſtill farther the denomination, and coined thirty ſhillings from a pound troy;* his revenue, therefore, muſt have been about one hundred and ten thouſand pounds of our preſent money; and, by the cheapneſs of proviſions, was equivalent to above three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

None of the princes of the houſe of Lancaſter ventured to impoſe taxes without conſent of parliament; their doubtful or bad title became ſo far of advantage to the conſtitution. The rule was then fixed, and could not ſafely be broken afterwards, even by more abſolute princes.

HENRY VI. taken PRISONER by the EARLS of WARWIC and MARCHE.

# HENRY VI.

## CHAP. XX. XXI.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY: MAID OF ORLEANS: PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE: MARRIAGE OF THE KING: RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE: — CLAIM OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE CROWN: POPULAR INSURRECTION: THE PARTIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER: FIRST BATTLE OF S. ALBANS: BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD: SECOND BATTLE OF S. ALBANS: EDWARD IV. ASSUMES THE CROWN: MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

# CHAPTER XX.

## HENRY VI.

### 1422....1461.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY....STATE OF FRANCE....MILITARY OPERATIONS....BATTLE OF VERNEUIL....SIEGE OF ORLEANS....THE MAID OF ORLEANS....THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED....THE KING OF FRANCE CROWNED AT RHEIMS....PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD....EXECUTION OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS....DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY....DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD....DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE....TRUCE WITH FRANCE....MARRIAGE OF THE KING WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU....MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER....STATE OF FRANCE, AND RENEWAL OF THE WAR....THE ENGLISH EXPELLED FRANCE.

### GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY. 1422.

DURING the reigns of the Lancaſtrian princes the authority of parliament ſeems to have been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than during any former period; and the two preceding kings, though men of great ſpirit and abilities, abſtained from ſuch exertions of prerogative as even weak princes, whoſe title was undiſputed, were tempted

pected from the ſuperior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the adminiſtration was devolved on the duke of Bedford, the moſt accompliſhed prince of his age; whoſe experience, prudence, valour, and generoſity, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command; he was at the head of armies inured to victory; he was ſeconded by the moſt renowned generals of the age, the earls of Somerſet, Warwick, Saliſbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, ſir John Talbot, and ſir John Faſtolfe; and, beſides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was maſter of the capital, and of almoſt all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furniſh him with ſupplies both of men and money, and to aſſiſt and ſupport his Engliſh forces.

But Charles, notwithſtanding the preſent inferiority of his power, poſſeſſed ſome advantages, derived partly from his ſituation, partly from his perſonal character, which promiſed him ſucceſs, and ſerved firſt to control, then to overbalance, the ſuperior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy: all Frenchmen, who knew the intereſts, or deſired the independence, of their country, turned their eyes towards him as its ſole reſource: the excluſion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate conſent of the ſtates, had plainly no validity: that ſpirit of faction, which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in ſo groſs a deluſion: their national and inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh, the authors of all their calamities, muſt ſoon revive, and inſpire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of that hoſtile people: great nobles and princes, accuſtomed to maintain an independence againſt their native ſovereigns, would never endure a ſubjection to ſtrangers: and,

though moſt of the princes of the blood were, ſince the fatal battle of Azincour, detained priſoners in England, the inhabitants of their demeſnes, their friends, their vaſſals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themſelves in reſiſting the violence of foreign invaders.

Charles himſelf, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of theſe benevolent ſentiments; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native ſubjects. He was a prince of the moſt friendly and benign diſpoſition, of eaſy and familiar manners, and of a juſt and ſound, though not a very vigorous, underſtanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the ſervices of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their intereſt to deſert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them thoſe ſallies of diſcontent to which princes in his ſituation are ſo frequently expoſed. The love of pleaſure often ſeduced him into indolence; but, amidſt all his irregularities, the goodneſs of his heart ſtill ſhone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his general remiſſneſs proceeded not from the want either of a juſt ſpirit of ambition or of perſonal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay ſome time in obſcurity, the duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign aſſiſtance would be requiſite ere an Engliſh regent could hope to complete the conqueſt of France; an enterpriſe which, however it might ſeem to be much advanced, was ſtill expoſed to many and great difficulties. The chief circumſtance, which had procured to the Engliſh all their preſent advantages, was the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy againſt Charles; and, as that prince ſeemed

intent rather on gratifying his paſſion than conſulting his intereſts, it was the more eaſy for the regent, by demonſtrations of reſpect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent, therefore, all his endeavours to that purpoſe; he gave the duke every proof of friendſhip and regard; he even offered him the regency of France, which Philip declined; and, that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princeſs of Burgundy, which had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Arras.

Being ſenſible that, next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendſhip of the duke of Brittany was of the greateſt importance towards forwarding the Engliſh conqueſts; and that, as the provinces of France, already ſubdued, lay between the dominions of theſe two princes, he could never hope for any ſecurity without preſerving his connexions with them; he was very intent on ſtrengthening himſelf alſo from that quarter. The duke of Brittany, having received many juſt reaſons of diſpleaſure from the miniſters of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vaſſals of the crown, done homage to Henry V, in quality of heir to the kingdom; but, as the regent knew that the duke was much governed by his brother the count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendſhip, by paying court and doing ſervices to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, count of Richemont, had been taken priſoner at the battle of Azincour; had been treated with great indulgence by the late king; and had even been permitted, on his parole, to take a journey into Brittany, where the ſtate of affairs required his preſence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended that, as his word was given perſonally to Henry V, he was not bound to fulfil it towards his ſon and ſucceſſor: a chicane which the re-

gent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was ſettled at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany; at which the count of Richemont was alſo preſent.[d] The alliance was renewed between theſe princes; and the regent perſuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of the deceaſed dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the duke of Burgundy, and ſeemed engaged by intereſt to proſecute the ſame object in forwarding the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms.

While the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming theſe allies, whoſe vicinity rendered them ſo important, he did not overlook the ſtate of more remote countries. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdac his ſon, a prince of a weak underſtanding and indolent diſpoſition; who, far from poſſeſſing the talents requiſite for the government of that fierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or reſtrain the petulance and inſolence of his ſons. The ardour of the Scots to ſerve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and diſtinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of conſtable, broke out afreſh under this feeble adminiſtration: new ſuccours daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king: the earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of five thouſand men to his aſſiſtance: and it was juſtly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hoſtilities in the north, would occaſion a diverſion ſtill more conſiderable of the Engliſh power, and would eaſe Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at preſent ſo grievouſly oppreſſed. The duke of Bedford, therefore, perſuaded the Engliſh council to form an alliance with James their priſoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with

England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, and couſin of the young king.[e] As the Scottiſh regent, tired of his preſent dignity, which he was not able to ſupport, was now become entirely ſincere in his application for James's liberty, the treaty was ſoon concluded; a ranſom of forty thouſand pounds was ſtipulated;[f] and the king of Scots was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, and proved, in his ſhort reign, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traiterous kinſman the earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the ſide of France; but the Engliſh had never reaſon, during his lifetime, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS. 1423.

But the regent was not ſo much employed in theſe political negociations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to ſucceed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief ſeat of Charles's power lay in the ſouthern provinces beyond the Loire, his partiſans were poſſeſſed of ſome fortreſſes in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford firſt to clear theſe countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more diſtant conqueſts. The caſtle of Dorſoy was taken after a ſiege of ſix weeks; that of Noyelle and the town of Rue in Picardy underwent the ſame fate; Pont ſur Seine, Vertus, Montaigu, were ſubjected by the Engliſh arms; and a more conſiderable advantage was ſoon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. John Stuart, conſtable of Scotland, and the lord of Eſtiſſac, had formed the ſiege of Crevant in Burgundy; the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, with the count of Toulongeon, were ſent to its relief; a fierce and well diſputed

action enſued; the Scots and French were defeated; the conſtable of Scotland, and the count of Ventadour, were taken priſoners; and above a thouſand men, among whom was ſir William Hamilton, were left on the field of battle.[g] The taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of la Charite upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory; and, as this latter place opened an entrance into the ſouthern provinces, the acquiſition of it appeared on that account of the greater importance to the duke of Bedford, and ſeemed to promiſe a ſucceſsful iſſue to the war.

The more Charles was threatened with an invaſion in thoſe provinces which adhered to him, the more neceſſary it became that he ſhould retain poſſeſſion of every fortreſs which he ſtill held within the quarters of the enemy. The duke of Bedford had beſieged in perſon, during the ſpace of three months, the town of Yvri in Normandy; and the brave governor, unable to make any longer defence, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to ſurrender the town if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of theſe conditions, determined to make an attempt for ſaving the place. He collected, with ſome difficulty, an army of fourteen thouſand men, of whom one half were Scots; and he ſent them thither under the command of the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France; who was attended by the earl of Douglas, his countryman, the duke of Alençon, the mareſchal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount of Narbonne. When the conſtable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that he was come too late, and that the place was already ſurrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and ſat down before Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in ſpite of the garriſon, delivered up to him.[h] Buchan might now have returned in ſafety, and with the glory of making an acquiſition no leſs important than the place which he was ſent to relieve; but, hearing of Bedford's approach, he called a council of war,

in order to deliberate concerning the conduct which he ſhould hold in this emergence. The wiſer part of the council declared for a retreat; and repreſented that all the paſt misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their raſhneſs in giving battle when no neceſſity obliged them; that this army was the laſt reſource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces which remained to him; and that every reaſon invited him to embrace cautious meaſures, which might leave time for his ſubjects to return to a ſenſe of their duty, and give leiſure for diſcord to ariſe among his enemies, who, being united by no common band of intereſt or motive of alliance, could not long perſevere in their animoſity againſt him. All theſe prudential conſiderations were overborn by a vain point of honour, not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they reſolved to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

## BATTLE OF VERNEUIL. 1424.

The numbers were nearly equal in this action; and, as the long continuance of war had introduced diſcipline, which, however imperfect, ſufficed to maintain ſome appearance of order in ſuch ſmall armies, the battle was fierce, and well diſputed, and attended with bloodſhed on both ſides. The conſtable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, and reſolved to abide the attack of the enemy: but the impatience of the viſcount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately, and obliged the whole line to follow him in ſome hurry and confuſion, was the cauſe of the misfortune which enſued. The Engliſh archers, fixing their paliſadoes before them, according to their uſual cuſtom, ſent a volley of arrows amidſt the thickeſt of the French army; and, though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take ſhelter among the baggage, they ſoon rallied, and continued to do great

execution upon the enemy. The duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, made impreſſion on the French, broke their ranks, chaſed them off the field, and rendered the victory entirely complete and deciſive.[i] The conſtable himſelf periſhed in battle, as well as the earl of Douglas and his ſon, the counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other conſiderable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the mareſchal de la Fayette, the lords of Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken priſoners. There fell about four thouſand of the French, and ſixteen hundred of the Engliſh; a loſs eſteemed at that time ſo unuſual on the ſide of the victors, that the duke of Bedford forbad all rejoicings for his ſucceſs. Verneuil was ſurrendered next day by capitulation.[k]

The condition of the king of France now appeared very terrible, and almoſt deſperate. He had loſt the flower of his army and the braveſt of his nobles in this fatal action: he had no reſource either for recruiting or ſubſiſting his troops: he wanted money even for his perſonal ſubſiſtence; and, though all parade of a court was baniſhed, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, ſupplied with the plaineſt neceſſaries, for himſelf and his few followers: every day brought him intelligence of ſome loſs or misfortune: towns, which were bravely defended, were obliged at laſt to ſurrender for want of relief or ſupply: he ſaw his partiſans entirely chaſed from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire: and he expected ſoon to loſe, by the united efforts of his enemies, all the territories of which he had hitherto continued maſter; when an incident happened which ſaved him on the brink of ruin, and loſt the Engliſh ſuch an opportunity for completing their conqueſts as they never afterwards were able to recall.

Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault and Holland, and heir of theſe provinces, had eſpouſed John duke of Brabant, couſin-german

to the duke of Burgundy; but, having made this choice from the uſual motives of princes, ſhe ſoon found reaſon to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princeſs of a maſculine ſpirit and uncommon underſtanding; the duke of Brabant was of a ſickly complexion and weak mind: ſhe was in the vigour of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year: theſe cauſes had inſpired her with ſuch contempt for her huſband, which ſoon proceeded to antipathy, that ſhe determined to diſſolve a marriage, where, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly very open to applications of this nature, when ſeconded by power and money; but, as the princeſs foreſaw great oppoſition from her huſband's relations, and was impatient to effect her purpoſe, ſhe made her eſcape into England, and threw herſelf under the protection of the duke of Gloceſter. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement paſſions; and he was raſhly induced, as well by the charms of the counteſs herſelf, as by the proſpect of poſſeſſing her rich inheritance, to offer himſelf to her as a huſband. Without waiting for a papal diſpenſation, without endeavouring to reconcile the duke of Burgundy to the meaſure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of her dominions. Philip was diſguſted with ſo precipitate a conduct; he reſented the injury done to the duke of Brabant, his near relation; he dreaded to have the Engliſh eſtabliſhed on all ſides of him; and he foreſaw the conſequences which muſt attend the extenſive and uncontrolled dominion of that nation, if before the full ſettlement of their power they inſulted and injured an ally, to whom they had already been ſo much indebted, and who was ſtill ſo neceſſary for ſupporting them in their farther progreſs. He encouraged, therefore, the duke of Brabant to

make reſiſtance; he engaged many of Jaqueline's ſubjects to adhere to that prince; he himſelf marched troops to his ſupport; and, as the duke of Gloceſter ſtill perſevered in his purpoſe, a ſharp war was ſuddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel ſoon became perſonal as well as political. The Engliſh prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the oppoſition made to his pretenſions; and, though in the main he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of ſome falſehoods into which, he ſaid, Philip had been betrayed during the courſe of theſe tranſactions. This unguarded expreſſion was highly reſented; the duke of Burgundy inſiſted that he ſhould retract it; and mutual challenges and defiances paſſed between them on this occaſion.[l]

The duke of Bedford could eaſily foreſee the bad effects of ſo ill timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the ſuccours which he expected from England, and which were ſo neceſſary in this critical emergence, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault; the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he alſo depended on, were diverted by the ſame wars; and, beſides this double loſs, he was in imminent danger of alienating for ever that confederate, whoſe friendſhip was of the utmoſt importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. He repreſented all theſe topics to the duke of Gloceſter; he endeavoured to mitigate the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy; he interpoſed with his good offices between theſe princes; but was not ſucceſsful in any of his endeavours; and he found that the impetuoſity of his brother's temper was ſtill the chief obſtacle to all accommodation.[m] For this reaſon, inſtead of puſhing the victory gained at Verneuil, he found himſelf obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counſels and authority, to moderate the meaſures of the duke of Gloceſter.

There had likewiſe broken out ſome differences among the Engliſh miniſtry, which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's preſence to compoſe them.[n] The biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the care of the king's perſon and education had been intruſted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character; and, as he aſpired to the government of affairs, he had continual diſputes with his nephew, the protector; and he gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. The duke of Bedford employed the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and theſe rivals were obliged to promiſe, before that aſſembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion.[o] Time alſo ſeemed to open expedients for compoſing the difference with the duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope; by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloceſter was annulled, but it was alſo declared that, even in caſe of the duke of Brabant's death, it ſhould never be lawful for her to eſpouſe the Engliſh prince. Humphrey, deſpairing of ſucceſs, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived ſome time with him as his miſtreſs.[p] The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before ſhe could recover poſſeſſion of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue, and to promiſe never to marry without his conſent. But, though the affair was thus terminated to the ſatisfaction of Philip, it left a diſagreeable impreſſion on his mind; it excited an extreme jealouſy of the Engliſh, and opened his eyes to his true intereſts; and, as nothing but his animoſity againſt Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that paſſion by another of the ſame kind, which in the end became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connexions with his family and his native country.

About the ſame time the duke of Brittany began to withdraw himſelf from the Engliſh alliance. His brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French intereſt; and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made him for obtaining his friendſhip. The ſtaff of conſtable, vacant by the earl of Buchan's death, was offered him; and, as his martial and ambitious temper aſpired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new conſtable, having made this one change in his meaſures, firmly adhered ever after to his engagements with France. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his maſter's confidence, and even prompted him to aſſaſſinate the other favourites, had ſo much diſguſted Charles, that he once baniſhed him the court, and refuſed to admit him to his preſence, he ſtill acted with vigour for the ſervice of that monarch, and obtained at laſt, by his perſeverance, the pardon of all paſt offences.

In this ſituation the duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France, after paſſing eight months in England. The duke of Burgundy was much diſguſted. The duke of Brittany had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the aſtoniſhment into which their frequent diſaſters had thrown them. An incident too had happened, which ſerved extremely to raiſe their courage. The earl of Warwick had beſieged Montargis with a ſmall army of three thouſand men, and the place was reduced to extremity, when the baſtard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural ſon to the prince aſſaſſinated by the

duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of ſixteen hundred men to Montargis; and made an attack on the enemy's trenches with ſo much valour, prudence, and good fortune, that he not only penetrated into the place, but gave a ſevere blow to the Engliſh, and obliged Warwick to raiſe the ſiege.[q] This was the firſt ſignal action that raiſed the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to thoſe great honours which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, ſoon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the Engliſh arms by an important enterpriſe, which he happily achieved. He ſecretly brought together, in ſeparate detachments, a conſiderable army to the frontiers of Brittany; and fell ſo unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make reſiſtance, yielded to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France; and promiſed to do homage for his duchy to king Henry.[r] And the Engliſh prince, having thus freed himſelf from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, reſolved on an undertaking which, if ſucceſsful, would, he hoped, caſt the balance between the two nations, and prepare the way for the final conqueſt of France.

## SIEGE OF ORLEANS. 1428.

The city of Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, that it opened an eaſy entrance to either; and, as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the ſouth of France, it behoved him to begin with this place, which, in the preſent circumſtances, was become the moſt important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterpriſe to the earl of Saliſ-

bury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men from England, and who had much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his abilities, during the courſe of the preſent war. Saliſbury, paſſing the Loire, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall places which ſurrounded Orleans on that ſide;* and, as his intentions were thereby known, the French king uſed every expedient to ſupply the city with a garriſon and proviſions, and enable it to maintain a long and obſtinate ſiege. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor; many officers of diſtinction threw themſelves into the place; the troops which they conducted were inured to war, and were determined to make the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; and even the inhabitants, diſciplined by the long continuance of hoſtilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to ſecond the efforts of the moſt veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this ſcene; where, it was reaſonably ſuppoſed, the French were to make their laſt ſtand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their ſovereign.

The earl of Saliſbury at laſt approached the place with an army, which conſiſted only of ten thouſand men; and, not being able, with ſo ſmall a force, to inveſt ſo great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he ſtationed himſelf on the ſouthern ſide towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beauſſe, ſtill open to the enemy. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge; and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, he carried ſeveral of them; but was himſelf killed by a cannon ball as he was taking a view of the enemy.' The earl of Suffolk ſucceeded to the command; and, being reinforced with great numbers of Engliſh and Burgundians, he paſſed the river with the main body of his army, and inveſted Orleans on the other ſide. As it was now the depth of

winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult in that ſeaſon to throw up intrenchments all around, contented himſelf, for the preſent, with erecting redoubts at different diſtances, where his men were lodged in ſafety, and were ready to intercept the ſupplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had ſeveral pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the firſt ſieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance), the art of engineering was hitherto ſo imperfect, that Suffolk truſted more to famine than to force for ſubduing the city; and he purpoſed in the ſpring to render the circumvallation more complete, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberleſs feats of valour were performed both by the beſiegers and beſieged during the winter; bold ſallies were made, and repulſed with equal boldneſs; convoys were ſometimes introduced, and often intercepted; the ſupplies were ſtill unequal to the conſumption of the place; and the Engliſh ſeemed daily, though ſlowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterpriſe.

But, while Suffolk lay in this ſituation, the French parties ravaged all the country around; and the beſiegers, who were obliged to draw their proviſions from a diſtance, were themſelves expoſed to the danger of want and famine. Sir John Faſtolffe was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of ſtores, which he eſcorted with a detachment of two thouſand five hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of four thouſand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois. Faſtolffe drew up his troops behind the waggons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that poſture, planted a battery of cannon againſt him, which threw every thing into confuſion, and would have enſured them the victory, had not the impatience of ſome Scottiſh troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Faſtolffe was

victorious. The count of Dunois was wounded; and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was of great importance in the preſent conjuncture, was commonly called the battle of Herrings; becauſe the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of proviſions, for the uſe of the Engliſh army during the Lent ſeaſon."

Charles ſeemed now to have but one expedient for ſaving this city, which had been ſo long inveſted. The duke of Orleans, who was ſtill priſoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to conſent that all his demeſnes ſhould be allowed to preſerve a neutrality during the war, and ſhould be ſequeſtered, for greater ſecurity, into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much leſs cordial in the Engliſh intereſts than formerly, went to Paris, and made the propoſal to the duke of Bedford; but the regent coldly replied that he was not of a humour to beat the buſhes while others ran away with the game; an anſwer which ſo diſguſted the duke, that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the ſiege." The place, however, was every day more and more cloſely inveſted by the Engliſh. Great ſcarcity began already to be felt by the garriſon and inhabitants. Charles, in deſpair of collecting an army which ſhould dare to approach the enemy's intrenchments, not only gave the city for loſt, but began to entertain a very diſmal proſpect with regard to the general ſtate of his affairs. He ſaw that the country, in which he had hitherto with great difficulty ſubſiſted, would be laid entirely open to the invaſion of a powerful and victorious enemy; and he already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, and defending himſelf as long as poſſible in thoſe remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this good prince that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women, whom he conſulted, had the ſpirit to ſupport

his ſinking reſolution in this deſperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princeſs of great merit and prudence, vehemently oppoſed this meaſure, which ſhe foreſaw would diſcourage all his partiſans, and ſerve as a general ſignal for deſerting a prince who ſeemed himſelf to deſpair of ſucceſs. His miſtreſs too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, ſeconded all her remonſtrances, and threatened that, if he thus puſillanimouſly threw away the ſceptre of France, ſhe would ſeek in the court of England a fortune more correſpondent to her wiſhes. Love was able to rouſe in the breaſt of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite; he reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy, and rather to periſh with honour in the midſt of his friends than yield ingloriouſly to his bad fortune; when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave riſe to one of the moſt ſingular revolutions that is to be met with in hiſtory.

## THE MAID OF ORLEANS. 1429.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-ſeven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was a ſervant in a ſmall inn, and who in that ſtation had been accuſtomed to tend the horſes of the gueſts, to ride them without a ſaddle to the watering place, and to perform other offices, which, in well frequented inns, commonly fall to the ſhare of the men ſervants.[x] This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ſingularity; whether that ſhe had met with no occaſion to excite her genius, or that the unſkilful eyes of thoſe who converſed with her had not been able to diſcern her uncommon merit. It is eaſy to imagine that the preſent ſituation of France

was an intereſting object even to perſons of the loweſt rank, and would become the frequent ſubject of converſation. A young prince expelled his throne by the ſedition of native ſubjects, and by the arms of ſtrangers, could not fail to move the compaſſion of all his people whoſe hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, ſo ſtrongly inclined to friendſhip and the tender paſſions, naturally rendered him the hero of that ſex whoſe generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The ſiege of Orleans, the progreſs of the Engliſh before that place, the great diſtreſs of the garriſon and inhabitants, the importance of ſaving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general ſentiment, was ſeized with a wild deſire of bringing relief to her ſovereign in his preſent diſtreſſes. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, miſtook the impulſes of paſſion for heavenly inſpirations; and ſhe fancied that ſhe ſaw viſions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-eſtabliſh the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in ſuch a path; and, thinking herſelf deſtined by Heaven to this office, ſhe threw aſide all that baſhfulneſs and timidity ſo natural to her ſex, her years, and her low ſtation. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admiſſion to Baudricourt the governor; informed him of her inſpirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who ſpoke through her, but to ſecond thoſe heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterpriſe. Baudricourt treated her at firſt with ſome neglect; but, on her frequent returns to him, and importunate ſolicitations, he began to remark ſomething extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make ſo eaſy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had diſcernment enough to

JOAN OF ARC DECLARING HER MISSION.

perceive that great uſe might be made with the vulgar of ſo uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely in that credulous age, was himſelf a convert to this viſionary: but he adopted at laſt the ſchemes of Joan; and he gave her ſome attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time reſided at Chinon.

It is the buſineſs of hiſtory to diſtinguiſh between the miraculous and the marvellous; to reject the firſt in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the ſecond; and, when obliged by unqueſtionable teſtimony, as in the preſent caſe, to admit of ſomething extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is conſiſtent with the known facts and circumſtances. It is pretended that Joan, immediately on her admiſſion, knew the king, though ſhe had never ſeen his face before, and though he purpoſely kept himſelf in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aſide every thing in his dreſs and apparel which might diſtinguiſh him; that ſhe offered him, in the name of the ſupreme Creator, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and, on his expreſſing doubts of her miſſion, revealed to him, before ſome ſworn confidants, a ſecret, which was unknown to all the world beſide himſelf, and which nothing but a heavenly inſpiration could have diſcovered to her; and that ſhe demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen it, ſhe deſcribed by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected.[7] This is certain, that all theſe miraculous ſtories were ſpread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his miniſters were determined to give into the illuſion, the more ſcruples they pretended. An aſſembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiouſly examined Joan's miſſion, and pronounced it undoubted and ſupernatural.

She was ſent to the parliament, then reſiding at Poictiers, and was interrogated before that aſſembly: the preſidents, the counſellors, who came perſuaded of her impoſture, went away convinced of her inſpiration. A ray of hope began to break through that deſpair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Heaven had now declared itſelf in favour of France, and had laid bare its outſtretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few could diſtinguiſh between the impulſe of inclination and the force of conviction, and none would ſubmit to the trouble of ſo diſagreeable a ſcrutiny.

After theſe artificial precautions and preparations had been for ſome time employed, Joan's requeſts were at laſt complied with; ſhe was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horſeback, and ſhewn in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her ſteed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a freſh proof of her miſſion; and ſhe was received with the loudeſt acclamations by the ſpectators. Her former occupation was even denied; ſhe was no longer the ſervant of an inn; ſhe was converted into a ſhepherdeſs, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To render her ſtill more intereſting, near ten years were ſubtracted from her age; and all the ſentiments of love and of chivalry were thus united to thoſe of enthuſiaſm, in order to inflame the fond fancy of the people with prepoſſeſſions in her favour.

When the engine was thus dreſſed up in full ſplendour, it was determined to eſſay its force againſt the enemy. Joan was ſent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the ſupply of Orleans, and an army of ten thouſand men, under the command of St. Severe, aſſembled to eſcort it. She ordered all the ſoldiers to confeſs themſelves before they ſet out on the enterpriſe; ſhe baniſhed from the camp all women of bad fame; ſhe diſplayed in her hands a conſecrated banner, where the Supreme Being was

repreſented graſping the globe of the earth and ſurrounded with flower de luces; and ſhe inſiſted, in right of her prophetic miſſion, that the convoy ſhould enter Orleans by the direct road from the ſide of Beauſſe: but the count of Dunois, unwilling to ſubmit the rules of the military art to her inſpirations, ordered it to approach by the other ſide of the river, where he knew the weakeſt part of the Engliſh army was ſtationed.

Previous to this attempt the maid had written to the regent, and to the Engliſh generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom ſhe was commiſſioned, immediately to raiſe the ſiege and to evacuate France, and menacing them with divine vengeance in caſe of their diſobedience. All the Engliſh affected to ſpeak with deriſion of the maid, and of her heavenly commiſſion; and ſaid that the French king was now indeed reduced to a ſorry paſs when he had recourſe to ſuch ridiculous expedients: but they felt their imagination ſecretly ſtruck with the vehement perſuaſion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with an anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror, for the iſſue of theſe extraordinary preparations.

As the convoy approached the river a ſally was made, by the garriſon on the ſide of Beauſſe, to prevent the Engliſh general from ſending any detachment to the other ſide; the proviſions were peaceably embarked in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had ſent to receive them; the maid covered with her troops the embarkation; Suffolk did not venture to attack her; and the French general carried back the army in ſafety to Blois: an alteration of affairs which was already viſible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and diſplaying her conſecrated ſtandard; and was received

as a celeſtial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themſelves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himſelf, perceiving ſuch a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, conſented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, ſhould enter by the ſide of Beauſſe. The convoy approached: no ſign of reſiſtance appeared in the beſiegers: the waggons and troops paſſed without interruption between the redoubts of the Engliſh: a dead ſilence and aſtoniſhment reigned among thoſe troops, formerly ſo elated with victory, and ſo fierce for the combat.

The earl of Suffolk was in a ſituation very unuſual and extraordinary, and which might well confound the man of the greateſt capacity and firmeſt temper. He ſaw his troops overawed, and ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of a divine influence accompanying the maid. Inſtead of baniſhing theſe vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the ſoldiers ſhould recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leiſure for thoſe prepoſſeſſions to ſink ſtill deeper into their minds. The military maxims, which are prudent in common caſes, deceived him in theſe unaccountable events. The Engliſh felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed, and thence inferred a divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the ſame inference from an inactivity ſo new and unexpected. Every circumſtance was now reverſed in the opinions of men, on which all depends. The ſpirit reſulting from a long courſe of uninterrupted ſucceſs was on a ſudden transferred from the victors to the vanquiſhed.

The maid called aloud that the garriſon ſhould remain no longer on the defenſive; and ſhe promiſed her followers the aſſiſtance of Heaven in attacking thoſe redoubts of the enemy which had ſo long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to inſult. The generals ſeconded her ardour: an

attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved ſucceſsful.* All the Engliſh who defended the intrenchments were put to the ſword, or taken priſoners: and ſir John Talbot himſelf, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, ſome troops to bring them relief, durſt not appear in the open field againſt ſo formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this ſucceſs, ſeemed impoſſible to the maid and her enthuſiaſtic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the Engliſh in their intrenchments: but Dunois, ſtill unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and ſenſible that the leaſt reverſe of fortune would make all the preſent viſions evaporate, and reſtore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and propoſed to her firſt to expel the enemy from their forts on the other ſide of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before ſhe attempted any more hazardous enterpriſe. Joan was perſuaded, and theſe forts were vigorouſly aſſailed. In one attack the French were repulſed; the maid was left almoſt alone; ſhe was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but, diſplaying her ſacred ſtandard, and animating them with her countenance, her geſtures, her exhortations, ſhe led them back to the charge, and overpowered the Engliſh in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort ſhe was wounded in the neck with an arrow; ſhe retreated a moment behind the aſſailants; ſhe pulled out the arrow with her own hands; ſhe had the wound quickly dreſſed; and ſhe haſtened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By all theſe ſucceſſes the Engliſh were entirely chaſed from their fortifications on that ſide. They had loſt above ſix thouſand men in theſe different actions; and, what was ſtill more important, their wonted courage and confidence was wholly

gone, and had given place to amazement and deſpair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing ſuch miracles, ſhe convinced the moſt obdurate incredulity of her divine miſſion. Men felt themſelves animated as by a ſuperior energy, and thought nothing impoſſible to that divine hand which ſo viſibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the Engliſh generals to oppoſe with their ſoldiers the prevailing opinion of ſupernatural influence; they themſelves were probably moved by the ſame belief; the utmoſt they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an inſtrument of God, ſhe was only the implement of the devil: but, as the Engliſh had felt, to their ſad experience, that the devil might be allowed ſometimes to prevail, they derived not much conſolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

## THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED.

It might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, with ſuch intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the preſence of ſo courageous and victorious an enemy; he therefore raiſed the ſiege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French reſolved to puſh their conqueſt, and to allow the Engliſh no leiſure to recover from their conſternation. Charles formed a body of ſix thouſand men, and ſent them to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The ſiege laſted ten days, and the place was obſtinately defended. Joan diſplayed her wonted intrepidity on the occaſion. She deſcended into the foſſee in leading the attack; and ſhe there received a blow on the head with a ſtone, by which ſhe was confounded and beaten to the ground: but ſhe ſoon recovered herſelf, and in the end rendered the aſſault ſucceſsful. Suffolk

was obliged to yield himſelf priſoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but, before he ſubmitted, he aſked his adverſary whether he were a gentleman? On receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he demanded whether he were a knight? Renaud replied that he had not yet attained that honour. 'Then I make you one,' replied Suffolk: upon which he gave him the blow with his ſword, which dubbed him into that fraternity; and he immediately ſurrendered himſelf his priſoner.

The remainder of the Engliſh army was commanded by Faſtolffe, Scales, and Talbot; who thought of nothing but of making their retreat, as ſoon as poſſible, into a place of ſafety; while the French eſteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which paſſed before Orleans altered every thing between the two nations! The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xaintrailles, attacked the rear of the enemy at the village of Patay. The battle laſted not a moment; the Engliſh were diſcomfited, and fled; the brave Faſtolffe himſelf ſhewed the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the garter was taken from him as a puniſhment for this inſtance of cowardice.* Two thouſand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken priſoners.

In the account of all theſe ſucceſſes the French writers, to magnify the wonder, repreſent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of 'the Maid of Orleans') as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and ſwaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain that the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain this appearance with the public; but it is much more probable that Dunois and the wiſer commanders prompted her in all her meaſures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a ſudden, become expert in a profeſſion which requires more

genius and capacity than any other active ſcene of life. It is ſufficient praiſe that ſhe could diſtinguiſh the perſons on whoſe judgment ſhe might rely; that ſhe could ſeize their hints and ſuggeſtions, and on a ſudden deliver their opinions as her own; and that ſhe could curb, on occaſion, that viſionary and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit with which ſhe was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and diſcretion.

The raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promiſe to Charles, the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and ſhe now vehemently inſiſted that he ſhould forthwith ſet out on that enterpriſe. A few weeks before, ſuch a propoſal would have appeared the moſt extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a diſtant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garriſons; and no man could be ſo ſanguine as to imagine that ſuch an attempt could ſo ſoon come within the bounds of poſſibility. But, as it was extremely the intereſt of Charles to maintain the belief of ſomething extraordinary and divine in theſe events, and to avail himſelf of the preſent conſternation of the Engliſh, he reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetes, and to lead his army upon this promiſing adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the ſcene of war; as the ſafety of the ſtate depended upon his perſon, he had been perſuaded to reſtrain his military ardour: but, obſerving this proſperous turn of affairs, he now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to ſet the example of valour to all his ſoldiers. And the French nobility ſaw at once their young ſovereign aſſuming a new and more brilliant character, ſeconded by fortune, and conducted by the hand of Heaven; and they caught freſh zeal to exert themſelves in replacing him on the throne of his anceſtors.

## THE KING OF FRANCE CROWNED AT RHEIMS.

CHARLES ſet out for Rheims at the head of twelve thouſand men; he paſſed by Troye, which opened its gates to him; Chalons imitated the example; Rheims ſent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it; and he ſcarcely perceived, as he paſſed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here [b] performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to king Clovis from Heaven on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. The maid of Orleans ſtood by his ſide in complete armour, and diſplayed her ſacred banner, which had ſo often diſſipated and confounded his fierceſt enemies; and the people ſhouted with the moſt unfeigned joy on viewing ſuch a complication of wonders. After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herſelf at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and, with a flood of tears, which pleaſure and tenderneſs extorted from her, ſhe congratulated him on this ſingular and marvellous event.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more reſpectable in the eyes of all his ſubjects, and ſeemed, in a manner, to receive anew, from a heavenly commiſſion, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men ſwaying their belief, no one doubted of the inſpirations and prophetic ſpirit of the maid; ſo many incidents, which paſſed all human comprehenſion, left little room to queſtion a ſuperior influence; and the real and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could ſcarcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns and fortreſſes in that neighbourhood, immediately after Charles's coronation, ſubmitted to him on the firſt ſummons, and the whole nation was diſpoſed to give him the moſt zealous teſtimonies of their duty and affection.

## PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

NOTHING can impreſs us with a higher idea of the wiſdom, addreſs, and reſolution, of the duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himſelf in ſo perilous a ſituation, and to preſerve ſome footing in France, after the defection of ſo many places, and amidſt the univerſal inclination of the reſt to imitate that contagious example. This prince ſeemed preſent every where by his vigilance and foreſight: he employed every reſource which fortune had yet left him: he put all the Engliſh garriſons in a poſture of defence: he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an inſurrection: he retained the Pariſians in obedience, by alternately employing careſſes and ſeverity: and, knowing that the duke of Burgundy was already wavering in his fidelity, he acted with ſo much ſkill and prudence as to renew, in this dangerous criſis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmoſt importance to the credit and ſupport of the Engliſh government.

The ſmall ſupplies which he received from England ſet the talents of this great man in ſtill a ſtronger light. The ardour of the Engliſh for foreign conqueſts was now extremely abated by time and reflection; the parliament ſeems even to have become ſenſible of the danger which might attend their farther progreſs; no ſupply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greateſt diſtreſſes; and men inliſted ſlowly under his ſtandard, or ſoon deſerted, by reaſon of the wonderful accounts which had reached England of the magic, and ſorcery, and diabolical power, of the maid of Orleans.[c] It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the biſhop of Wincheſter, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thouſand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites.

THE CORONATION OF HEN.VI.

He was perſuaded to lend theſe troops to his nephew during the preſent difficulties;[d] and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppoſe the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary capacity of the duke of Bedford appeared alſo in his military operations. He attempted to reſtore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he choſe his poſts with ſo much caution as always to decline a combat, and to render it impoſſible for Charles to attack him. He ſtill attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garriſons; and kept himſelf in a poſture to reap advantage from every imprudence or falſe ſtep of the enemy. The French army, which conſiſted moſtly of volunteers, who ſerved at their own expenſe, ſoon after retired, and was diſbanded. Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his reſidence; but not till he made himſelf maſter of Compiegne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St. Denis, and of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

The regent endeavoured to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris.[e] All the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, ſwore a new allegiance, and did homage to him. But this ceremony was cold and inſipid, compared with the luſtre which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident, which put into his hands the perſon that had been the author of all his calamities.

The maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the count of Dunois that her wiſhes were now fully gratified, and that ſhe had no farther deſire than to return to

her former condition, and to the occupation and courſe of life which became her ſex: but that nobleman, ſenſible of the great advantages which might ſtill be reaped from her preſence in the army, exhorted her to perſevere, till, by the final expulſion of the Engliſh, ſhe had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In purſuance of this advice, ſhe threw herſelf into the town of Compiegne, which was at that time beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garriſon, on her appearance, believed themſelves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was of ſhort duration. The maid, next day after her arrival, headed a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg; ſhe twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments; finding their numbers to increaſe every moment, ſhe ordered a retreat; when hard preſſed by the purſuers, ſhe turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but, being here deſerted by her friends, and ſurrounded by the enemy, ſhe was at laſt, after exerting the utmoſt valour, taken priſoner by the Burgundians.[f] The common opinion was that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory aſcribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themſelves were ſo much eclipſed, willingly expoſed her to this fatal accident.

The envy of her friends, on this occaſion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the Engliſh and their partiſans. The ſervice of Te Deum, which has ſo often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The duke of Bedford fancied that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blaſted all his ſucceſſes, he ſhould again recover his former aſcendant over France; and, to puſh farther the preſent advantage, he purchaſed the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a proſecu-

tion againſt her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and diſhonourable.

There was no poſſible reaſon why Joan ſhould not be regarded as a priſoner of war, and be entitled to all the courteſy and good uſages which civilized nations practiſe towards enemies on theſe occaſions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment; ſhe was unſtained by any civil crime; even the virtues and the very decorums of her ſex had ever been rigidly obſerved by her; and, though her appearing in war, and leading armies to battle, may ſeem an exception, ſhe had thereby performed ſuch ſignal ſervice to her prince, that ſhe had abundantly compenſated for this irregularity, and was, on that very account, the more an object of praiſe and admiration. It was neceſſary, therefore, for the duke of Bedford to intereſt religion ſome way in the proſecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of juſtice and humanity.

The biſhop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the Engliſh intereſts, preſented a petition againſt Joan, on pretence that ſhe was taken within the bounds of his dioceſe; and he deſired to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the univerſity of Paris was ſo mean as to join in the ſame requeſt: ſeveral prelates, among whom the cardinal of Wincheſter was the only Engliſhman, were appointed her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where the young king of England then reſided: and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She firſt deſired to be eaſed of her chains: her judges anſwered, that ſhe had once already attempted an eſcape, by throwing herſelf from a tower: ſhe confeſſed the fact, maintained the juſtice of her intention, and owned that, if ſhe could, ſhe would

ſtill execute that purpoſe. All her other ſpeeches ſhewed the ſame firmneſs and intrepidity. Though haraſſed with interrogatories during the courſe of near four months, ſhe never betrayed any weakneſs or womaniſh ſubmiſſion; and no advantage was gained over her. The point, which her judges puſhed moſt vehemently, was her viſions and revelations, and intercourſe with departed ſaints; and they aſked her whether ſhe would ſubmit to the church the truth of theſe inſpirations? She replied that ſhe would ſubmit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed that ſhe was a heretic, and denied the authority of the church. She appealed to the pope; they rejected her appeal.

They aſked her why ſhe put truſt in her ſtandard, which had been conſecrated by magical incantations? She replied that ſhe put truſt in the Supreme Being alone, whoſe image was impreſſed upon it. They demanded why ſhe carried in her hand that ſtandard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims? She anſwered, that the perſon who had ſhared the danger was entitled to ſhare the glory. When accuſed of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her ſex, and of aſſuming government and command over men; ſhe ſcrupled not to reply that her ſole purpoſe was to defeat the Engliſh, and to expel them the kingdom. In the iſſue, ſhe was condemned for all the crimes of which ſhe had been accuſed, aggravated by hereſy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to the ſecular arm.

Joan, ſo long ſurrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely, browbeaten and overawed by men of ſuperior rank, and men inveſted with the enſigns of a ſacred character, which ſhe had been accuſtomed to revere, felt her ſpirit at laſt ſubdued; and thoſe viſionary dreams of in-

ſpiration, in which ſhe had been buoyed up by the triumphs of ſucceſs and the applauſes of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that puniſhment to which ſhe was ſentenced. She publicly declared herſelf willing to recant; ſhe acknowledged the illuſion of thoſe revelations which the church had rejected; and ſhe promiſed never more to maintain them. Her ſentence was then mitigated; ſhe was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

## EXECUTION OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS. 1431.

ENOUGH was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the French and the Engliſh that the opinion of divine influence, which had ſo much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not ſatisfied with this victory. Suſpecting that the female dreſs, which ſhe had now conſented to wear, was diſagreeable to her, they purpoſely placed in her apartment a ſuit of men's apparel, and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had acquired ſo much renown, and which ſhe once believed ſhe wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, all her former ideas and paſſions revived; and ſhe ventured in her ſolitude to clothe herſelf again in the forbidden garment. Her inſidious enemies caught her in that ſituation; her fault was interpreted to be no leſs than a relapſe into hereſy; no recantation would now ſuffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the market place of Rouen; and the infamous ſentence was accordingly executed. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous ſuperſtition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of hereſy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames; and expiated, by that dreadful

puniſhment, the ſignal ſervices which ſhe had rendered to her prince and to her native country.

The affairs of the Engliſh, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent were unable to reſiſt the ſtrong inclination, which had ſeized the French, to return under the obedience of their rightful ſovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was ſurpriſed by a ſtratagem of the count of Dunois: a body of the Engliſh, under lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarte;[g] the fair in the ſuburbs of Caen, ſeated in the midſt of the Engliſh territories, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer: the duke of Bedford himſelf was obliged by Dunois to raiſe the ſiege of Lagni, with ſome loſs of reputation: and all theſe misfortunes, though light, yet being continued and uninterrupted, brought diſcredit on the Engliſh, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent ſuſtained was by the death of his ducheſs, who had hitherto preſerved ſome appearance of friendſhip between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy;[h] and his marriage ſoon afterwards, with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them. Philip complained that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that ſo ſudden a marriage was a ſlight on his ſiſter's memory. The cardinal of Wincheſter mediated a reconciliation between theſe princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpoſe. The duke of Bedford here expected the firſt viſit, both as he was ſon, brother, and uncle, to a king, and becauſe he had already made ſuch advances as to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: but Philip, proud of his great power and independent dominions, refuſed to pay this compliment to the regent: and the two princes, unable to adjuſt the ceremo-

nial, parted without ſeeing each other.[k] A bad prognoſtic of their cordial intentions to renew paſt amity!

## DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 1432.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the intereſts of the houſe of Burgundy, than to unite the crowns of France and England on the ſame head; an event which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his ſituation entirely dependent and precarious. The title alſo to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his poſterity, had been ſacrificed by the treaty of Troye; and ſtrangers and enemies were thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into theſe impolitic meaſures, and a point of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But, as it is the nature of paſſion gradually to decay, while the ſenſe of intereſt maintains a permanent influence and authority, the duke had, for ſome years, appeared ſenſibly to relent in his animoſity againſt Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; his incapacity to judge for himſelf; the aſcendant gained over him by his miniſters; and his inability to reſent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by thoſe under whoſe guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the king of France had baniſhed from his court and preſence Tannegui de Chatel, and all thoſe who were concerned in that aſſaſſination; and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The diſtreſs which Charles had already ſuffered had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the miſeries, to which France had been ſo long expoſed, had

begun to move his compaſſion; and the cries of all Europe admoniſhed him that his reſentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried farther, be univerſally condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this diſpoſition, every diſguſt which he received from England made a double impreſſion upon him; the entreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon, who had married his two ſiſters, had weight; and he finally determined to unite himſelf to the royal family of France, from which his own was deſcended. For this purpoſe a congreſs was appointed at Arras under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Baſle: the duke of Burgundy came thither in perſon; the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and other perſons of high rank, appeared as ambaſſadors from France; and, the Engliſh having alſo been invited to attend, the cardinal of Wincheſter, the biſhops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the protector and council a commiſſion for that purpoſe.[1]

The conferences were held in the abbey of St. Vaaſt; and began with diſcuſſing the propoſals of the two crowns, which were ſo wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the uſual homage and vaſſalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were univerſally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reaſonable; and the cardinal of Wincheſter, with the other Engliſh ambaſſadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congreſs. There remained nothing but to diſcuſs the mutual pretenſions of Charles and Philip. Theſe were eaſily adjuſted. The vaſſal was in a ſituation to give law to his ſuperior; and he exacted conditions which, had it not been for the preſent neceſſity, would have been deemed, to

the laſt degree, diſhonourable and diſadvantageous to the crown of France. Beſides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded ſeveral other territories; he agreed that theſe and all the other dominions of Philip ſhould be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing fealty, to the preſent king; and he freed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty.[m] Such were the conditions upon which France purchaſed the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke ſent a herald to England with a letter, in which he notified the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, and apologiſed for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldneſs; they even aſſigned him his lodgings in a ſhoemaker's houſe, by way of inſult; and the populace were ſo incenſed, that, if the duke of Gloceſter had not given him guards, his life had been expoſed to danger when he appeared in the ſtreets. The Flemings, and other ſubjects of Philip, were inſulted, and ſome of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing ſeemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations.[n] Theſe violences were not diſagreeable to the duke of Burgundy, as they afforded him a pretence for the farther meaſures which he intended to take againſt the Engliſh, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

## DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1435.

A FEW days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, ſo fatal to the intereſts of England, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whoſe me-

mory, except from the barbarous execution of the maid of Orleans, was unſullied by any conſiderable blemiſh. Iſabella, queen of France, died a little before him, deſpiſed by the Engliſh, deteſted by the French, and reduced in her later years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progreſs and ſucceſſes of her own ſon in recovering poſſeſſion of his kingdom. This period was alſo ſignalized by the death of the earl of Arundel,° a great Engliſh general; who, though he commanded three thouſand men, was foiled by Xaintrailles at the head of ſix hundred, and ſoon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

The violent factions, which prevailed between the duke of Gloceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, prevented the Engliſh from taking the proper meaſures for repairing theſe multiplied loſſes, and threw all their affairs into confuſion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the conteſt, which he often loſt by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to ſtruggle with the politic and intereſted ſpirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of theſe parties kept every thing in ſuſpenſe; foreign affairs were much neglected; and, though the duke of York, ſon to that earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the laſt reign, was appointed ſucceſſor to the duke of Bedford, it was ſeven months before his commiſſion paſſed the ſeals; and the Engliſh remained ſo long in an enemy's country without a proper head or governor.

## DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE. 1436.

THE new governor, on his arrival, found the capital already loſt. The Pariſians had always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the Engliſh intereſt; and, after the concluſion of the

treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, univerſally led them to return to their allegiance under their native ſovereign. The conſtable, together with Lile-Adam, the ſame perſon who had before put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens. Lord Willoughby, who commanded only a ſmall garriſon of fifteen hundred men, was expelled. This nobleman diſcovered valour and preſence of mind on the occaſion; but, unable to guard ſo large a place againſt ſuch multitudes, he retired into the Baſtile, and, being there inveſted, he delivered up that fortreſs, and was contented to ſtipulate for the ſafe retreat of his troops into Normandy.[p]

In the ſame ſeaſon the duke of Burgundy openly took part againſt England, and commenced hoſtilities by the ſiege of Calais, the only place which now gave the Engliſh any ſure hold of France, and ſtill rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own ſubjects, and had acquired the epithet of Good, from his popular qualities, he was able to intereſt all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe; and he inveſted that place with an army, formidable from its numbers, but without experience, diſcipline,[q] or military ſpirit. On the firſt alarm of this ſiege the duke of Gloceſter aſſembled ſome forces, ſent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promiſed to give as ſoon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the Engliſh had at that time rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe; eſpecially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in ſome attempts before Calais, and obſerving the diſcontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.[r]

The Engliſh were ſtill maſters of many fine provinces in France; but retained poſſeſſion more by the extreme weakneſs of Charles than by the ſtrength of their own garriſons, or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more ſurpriſing than the feeble efforts made, during the courſe of ſeveral years, by theſe two potent nations againſt each other; while the one ſtruggled for independence, and the other aſpired to a total conqueſt of its rival. The general want of induſtry, commerce, and police, in that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no leſs than the others, unfit for bearing the burdens of war, when it was prolonged beyond one ſeaſon; and the continuance of hoſtilities had, long ere this time, exhauſted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either ſide; and all the operations conſiſted in the ſurpriſal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incurſions upon the open country; which were performed by ſmall bodies, aſſembled on a ſudden from the neighbouring garriſons. In this method of conducting the war the French king had much the advantage; the affections of the people were entirely on his ſide; intelligence was early brought him of the ſtate and motions of the enemy; the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts againſt the garriſons; and thus ground was continually, though ſlowly, gained upon the Engliſh. The duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, ſtruggled againſt theſe difficulties during the courſe of five years; and, being aſſiſted by the valour of lord Talbot, ſoon after created earl of Shrewſbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of poſterity. It would have been well had this feeble war, in ſparing the blood of the people, prevented likewiſe all other oppreſſions; and had the fury of men, which reaſon and juſtice cannot reſtrain, thus happily received a check from their im-

potence and inability. But the French and Engliſh, though they exerted ſuch ſmall force, were, however, ſtretching beyond their reſources, which were ſtill ſmaller; and the troops, deſtitute of pay, were obliged to ſubſiſt by plundering and oppreſſing the country both of friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, which was the ſeat of war, were laid waſte and left uncultivated.[s] The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood ſpilt in battle, but by the more deſtructive pillage of the garriſons.[t] And both parties, weary of hoſtilities which decided nothing, ſeemed at laſt deſirous of peace, and they ſet on foot negociations for that purpoſe. But the propoſals of France, and the demands of England, were ſtill ſo wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vaniſhed. The Engliſh ambaſſadors demanded reſtitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final ceſſion of Calais and its diſtrict; and required the poſſeſſion of theſe extenſive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the uſual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negociation while there was ſo little proſpect of agreement. The Engliſh were ſtill too haughty to ſtoop from the vaſt hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more ſuitable to the preſent condition of the two kingdoms.

The duke of York ſoon after reſigned his government to the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demiſe of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and, during his adminiſtration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become neceſſary for the commercial intereſts of their ſubjects.[u] The war with France continued in the ſame languid and feeble ſtate as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken priſoners in the battle of Azincour, was a conſiderable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this ſuperiority was now entirely loſt. Some of theſe princes had died; ſome had been ranſomed; and the duke of Orleans, the moſt powerful among them, was the laſt that remained in the hands of the Engliſh. He offered the ſum of fifty-four thouſand nobles [x] for his liberty; and, when this propoſal was laid before the council of England, as every queſtion was there an object of faction, the party of the duke of Gloceſter and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter were divided in their ſentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of theſe priſoners ſhould on any account be releaſed till his ſon ſhould be of ſufficient age to hold, himſelf, the reins of government. The cardinal inſiſted on the greatneſs of the ſum offered, which, in reality, was near equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies that the parliament, during the courſe of ſeven years, granted for the ſupport of the war. And he added, that the releaſe of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſts; by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to thoſe numerous malcontents whom Charles was at preſent able, with great difficulty, to reſtrain. The cardinal's party, as uſual, prevailed; the duke of Orleans was releaſed, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years; [y] and the duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ranſom. It muſt be confeſſed that the princes and nobility, in thoſe ages, went to war on very diſadvantageous terms. If they were taken priſoners, they either remained in captivity during life, or purchaſed their liberty at the price which the victors were pleaſed to impoſe, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

## TRUCE WITH FRANCE. 1443.

THE ſentiments of the cardinal, ſome time after, prevailed in another point of ſtill greater moment. That prelate had always encouraged every propoſal of accommodation with France; and had repreſented the utter impoſſibility, in the preſent circumſtances, of puſhing farther the conqueſts in that kingdom, and the great difficulty of even maintaining thoſe which were already made. He inſiſted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant ſupplies; the diſorders in which the Engliſh affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progreſs made by the French king; and the advantage of ſtopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favour of the Engliſh. The duke of Gloceſter, high-ſpirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretenſions which the firſt ſucceſſes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquiſh all hopes of prevailing over France; much leſs could he ſee, with patience, his own opinion thwarted and rejected by the influence of his rival in the Engliſh council. But, notwithſtanding his oppoſition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was diſpatched to Tours, in order to negociate with the French miniſters. It was found impoſſible to adjuſt the terms of a laſting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the preſent footing between the parties. The numerous diſorders under which the French government laboured, and which time alone could remedy, induced Charles to aſſent to this truce; and the ſame motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it.* But Suffolk, not content with executing this object of his commiſſion, proceeded alſo to finiſh another buſineſs, which ſeems rather

to have been implied than expreſſed in the powers that had been granted him.[a]

## KING'S MARRIAGE WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the moſt harmleſs, inoffenſive, ſimple, manners; but of the moſt ſlender capacity; he was fitted, both by the ſoftneſs of his temper and the weakneſs of his underſtanding, to be perpetually governed by thoſe who ſurrounded him; and it was eaſy to foreſee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of chooſing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand; as it was probable that this circumſtance would decide for ever the victory between them. The duke of Gloceſter propoſed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but had not credit to effect his purpoſe. The cardinal and his friends had caſt their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, deſcended from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V, who had left theſe magnificent titles, but without any real power or poſſeſſions, to his poſterity. This princeſs herſelf was the moſt accompliſhed of her age both in body and mind; and ſeemed to poſſeſs thoſe qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the aſcendant over Henry, and to ſupply all his defects and weakneſſes. Of a maſculine, courageous ſpirit, of an enterpriſing temper, endowed with ſolidity as well as vivacity of underſtanding, ſhe had not been able to conceal theſe great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reaſonable to expect that, when ſhe ſhould mount the throne, they would break out with ſtill ſuperior luſtre.

The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his affociates of the Engliſh council, made propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, beſides preoccupying the princeſs's favour by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with her and her family by very extraordinary conceſſions. Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himſelf, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle;[b] who was prime miniſter and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his maſter the grant of that province as his appanage.

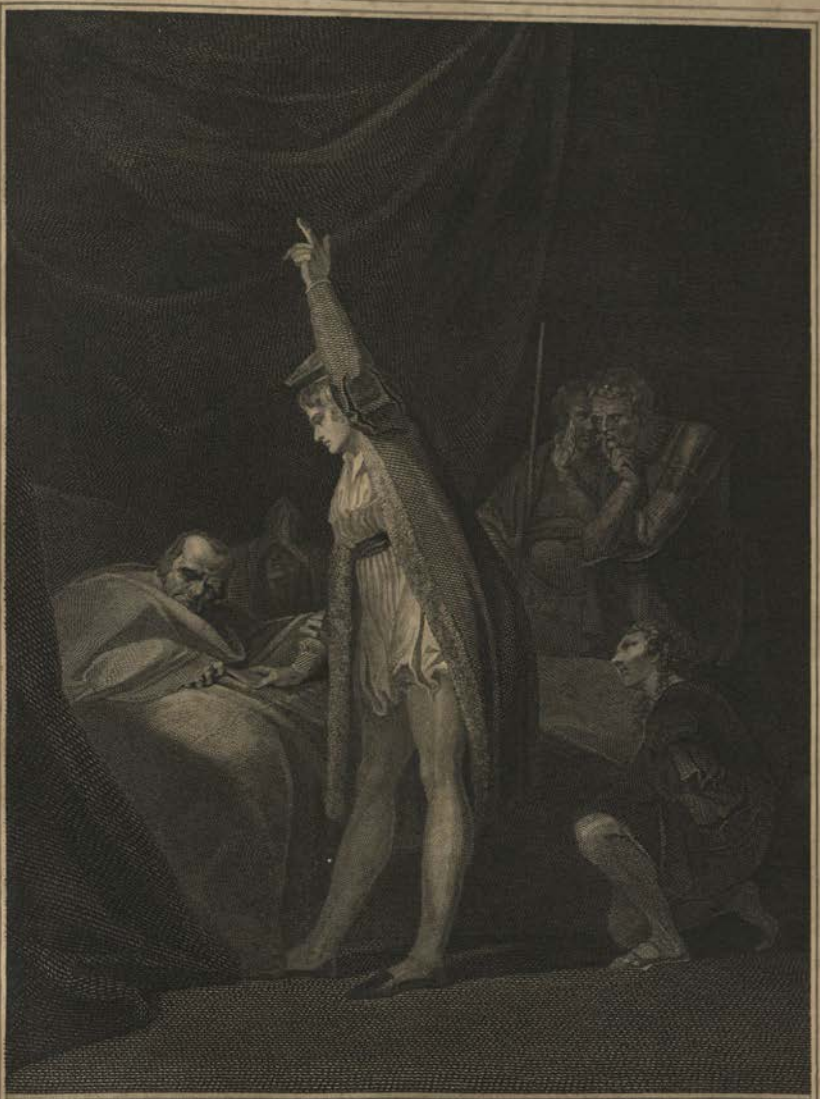
The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained firſt the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices in concluding it.[c] The princeſs fell immediately into cloſe connexions with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerſet, Suffolk, and Buckingham;[d] who, fortified by her powerful patronage, reſolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloceſter.

This generous prince, worſted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not ſuited, but poſſeſſing, in a high degree, the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto born without violating public peace, but which it was impoſſible that a perſon of his ſpirit and humanity could ever forgive. His ducheſs, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accuſed of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her poſſeſſion a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her affociates, ſir Roger Bolingbroke a prieſt, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention

of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by like inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the ducheſs was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeems always to exempt the accuſers from obſerving the rules of common ſenſe in their evidence: the priſoners were pronounced guilty; the ducheſs was condemned to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; the others were executed.[e] But, as theſe violent proceedings were aſcribed ſolely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their uſual practice in ſuch marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy ſufferers; and increaſed their eſteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus expoſed, without protection, to thoſe mortal injuries.

## MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER. 1447.

These ſentiments of the public made the cardinal of Wincheſter and his party ſenſible that it was neceſſary to deſtroy a man whoſe popularity might become dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. In order to effect their purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to meet, not at London, which was ſuppoſed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondſbury, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy. As ſoon as he appeared he was accuſed of treaſon, and thrown into priſon. He was ſoon after found dead in his bed;[f] and, though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was expoſed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice, formerly practiſed in the caſe of Edward II, Richard II, and



THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEAUFORT.

Thomas of Woodſtock duke of Gloceſter, could deceive nobody. The reaſon of this aſſaſſination of the duke ſeems not that the ruling party apprehended his acquittal in parliament on account of his innocence, which in ſuch times was ſeldom much regarded; but that they imagined his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder, which they pretended to deny. Some gentlemen of his retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treaſons, and were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were hanged and cut down; but, juſt as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life.[g] The moſt barbarous kind of mercy that can poſſibly be imagined!

This prince is ſaid to have received a better education than was uſual in his age, to have founded one of the firſt public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. Among other advantages which he reaped from this turn of mind, it tended much to cure him of credulity; of which the following inſtance is given by ſir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his ſight by touching the ſhrine of St. Albans. The duke, happening ſoon after to paſs that way, queſtioned the man, and, ſeeming to doubt of his ſight, aſked him the colours of ſeveral cloaks worn by perſons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. 'You are a knave,' cried the prince; 'had you been born blind, you could not ſo ſoon have learned to diſtinguiſh colours:' and immediately ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks as an impoſtor.[h]

The cardinal of Wincheſter died ſix weeks after his nephew, whoſe murder was univerſally aſcribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is ſaid, gave him more remorſe in his laſt moments than could naturally be expected from a

man hardened, during the courſe of a long life, in falſehood and in politics. What ſhare the queen had in this guilt is uncertain; her uſual activity and ſpirit made the public conclude, with ſome reaſon, that the duke's enemies durſt not have ventured on ſuch a deed without her privity. But there happened, ſoon after, an event, of which ſhe and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore inconteſtibly the whole odium.

That article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto kept ſecret; and, during the life-time of the duke of Gloceſter, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it: but, as the court of France ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on performance, orders were now diſpatched, under Henry's hand, to ſir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to ſurrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either queſtioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his ſole fortune, refuſed compliance; and it became neceſſary for a French army, under the count of Dunois, to lay ſiege to the city. The governor made as good a defence as his ſituation could permit; but, receiving no relief from Edmund duke of Somerſet, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and to ſurrender not only Mans, but all the other fortreſſes of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

The bad effects of this meaſure ſtopped not here. Surienne, at the head of all his garriſons, amounting to two thouſand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in ſome towns of that province. But Somerſet, who had no means of ſubſiſting ſuch a multitude, and who was probably incenſed at Surienne's diſobedience, refuſed to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring

to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Brittany, ſeized the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon and St. James de Beuvron, and ſubſiſted his troops by the ravages which he exerciſed on that whole province.[i] The duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles remonſtrated with the duke of Somerſet: that nobleman replied that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions.[k] Though this anſwer ought to have appeared ſatisfactory to Charles, who had often felt ſeverely the licentious, independent, ſpirit of ſuch mercenary ſoldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He ſtill inſiſted that theſe plunderers ſhould be recalled, and that reparation ſhould be made to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had ſuſtained: and, in order to render an accommodation abſolutely impracticable, he made the eſtimation of damages amount to no leſs a ſum than one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns. He was ſenſible of the ſuperiority which the preſent ſtate of his affairs gave him over England, and he determined to take advantage of it.

## STATE OF FRANCE. WAR RENEWED. 1449.

No ſooner was the truce concluded between the two kingdoms than Charles employed himſelf, with great induſtry and judgment, in repairing thoſe numberleſs ills to which France, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domeſtic, had ſo long been expoſed. He reſtored the courſe of public juſtice; he introduced order into the finances; he eſtabliſhed diſcipline in his troops; he repreſſed faction in his court; he revived the languid ſtate of agriculture and the arts; and, in the courſe of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flouriſhing within itſelf, and

formidable to its neighbours. Meanwhile affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged againſt each other; the people were diſcontented with the government; conqueſts in France, which were an object more of glory than of intereſt, were overlooked amidſt domeſtic incidents, which engroſſed the attention of all men; the governor of Normandy, ill ſupplied with money, was obliged to diſmiſs the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and caſtles to become ruinous; and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient maſter, and of concerting the means for expelling the Engliſh. The occaſion, therefore, ſeemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by the king himſelf, a ſecond by the duke of Brittany, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almoſt as ſoon as the French appeared before them; Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Giſors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Liſieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Beleſme, Pont de l'Arche, fell in an inſtant into the hands of the enemy. The duke of Somerſet, ſo far from having an army which could take the field and relieve theſe places, was not able to ſupply them with the neceſſary garriſons and proviſions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was maſter, into Rouen; and thought it ſufficient, if, till the arrival of ſuccours from England, he could ſave that capital from the general fate of the province. The king of France, at the head of a formidable army, fifty thouſand ſtrong, preſented himſelf before the gates; the dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants, and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerſet, unable to reſiſt at once both the enemies within and from without,

retired with his garriſon into the palace and caſtle; which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to ſurrender. He purchaſed a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-ſix thouſand crowns; by engaging to ſurrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in the higher Normandy; and by delivering hoſtages for the performance of articles.[l] The governor of Honfleur refuſed to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewſbury, who was one of the hoſtages, was detained priſoner; and the Engliſh were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their preſent diſtreſſed ſituation. Harfleur made a better defence under ſir Thomas Curſon the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at laſt appeared from England under ſir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourgh: but theſe came very late, amounted only to four thouſand men, and were ſoon after put to rout at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont.[m] This battle, or rather ſkirmiſh, was the only action fought by the Engliſh for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchaſed at ſuch an expenſe of blood and treaſure. Somerſet, ſhut up in Caen without any proſpect of relief, found it neceſſary to capitulate; Falaiſe opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewſbury ſhould be reſtored to liberty; and Cherbourgh, the laſt place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the Engliſh, being delivered up, the conqueſt of that important province was finiſhed in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom.[n]

## THE ENGLISH EXPELLED FRANCE. 1450.

A LIKE rapid ſucceſs attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were, from long cuſtom, better inclined to the Engliſh government. Dunois was

diſpatched thither, and met with no reſiſtance in the field, and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been made, during this age, in the ſtructure and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or ſince, to the art of attack. After all the ſmall places about Bourdeaux were reduced, that city agreed to ſubmit, if not relieved by a certain time; and, as no one in England thought ſeriouſly of theſe diſtant concerns, no relief appeared; the place ſurrendered; and, Bayonne being taken ſoon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England ſince the acceſſion of Henry II, was, after a period of three centuries, finally ſwallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The Engliſh, torn in pieces by the civil diſſenſions which enſued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne; and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing againſt the intrigues of his factious ſon, Lewis the dauphin, ſcarcely ever attempted to invade them in their iſland, or to retaliate upon them by availing himſelf of their inteſtine confuſions.

## CHAPTER XXI.

# HENRY VI.

CLAIM OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE CROWN....THE EARL OF WARWICK....IMPEACHMENT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK....HIS BANISHMENT AND DEATH....POPULAR INSURRECTION....THE PARTIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER....FIRST ARMAMENT OF THE DUKE OF YORK....FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS....BATTLE OF BLORE-HEATH....OF NORTHAMPTON....A PARLIAMENT....BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK....BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS....SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS....EDWARD IV ASSUMES THE CROWN....MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

A WEAK prince, ſeated on the throne of England, had never failed, how gentle ſoever and innocent, to be infeſted with faction, diſcontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and, as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, theſe dangerous conſequences began, from paſt experience, to be univerſally and juſtly apprehended. Men alſo of unquiet ſpirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the ſituation of the neighbouring ſtates, were the more likely to excite inteſtine diſorders, and, by their emulation, rivalſhip, and animoſities, to tear the bowels of their native

country. But, though theſe cauſes alone were ſufficient to breed confuſion, there concurred another circumſtance of the moſt dangerous nature. A pretender to the crown appeared. The title itſelf of the weak prince, who enjoyed the name of ſovereignty, was diſputed: and the Engliſh were now to pay the ſevere, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II; and of their levity in violating, without any neceſſity or juſt reaſon, the lineal ſucceſſion of their monarchs.

## DUKE OF YORK'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN. 1450.

All the males of the houſe of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the ſiſter of the laſt earl of Marche, having eſpouſed the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V, had tranſmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her ſon, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III, ſtood plainly in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many reſpects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than thoſe of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild diſpoſitions: he had enjoyed an opportunity of diſplaying theſe virtues in his government of France: and, though recalled from that command by the intrigues and ſuperior intereſt of the duke of Somerſet, he had been ſent to ſuppreſs a rebellion in Ireland; had ſucceeded much better in that enterpriſe than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attach to his perſon and family the whole Iriſh nation, whom he was ſent to ſubdue.° In the right of his father, he bore the rank of firſt prince of the blood; and by this ſtation he gave a luſtre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer.

which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipſed by the royal deſcent of the houſe of Lancaſter. He poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune from the union of ſo many ſucceſſions; thoſe of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with thoſe of Mortimer on the other: which laſt inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter with the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, had widely extended his intereſt among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

## THE EARL OF WARWICK.

The family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time the moſt potent, both from their opulent poſſeſſions and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England; for, beſides the earl of Weſtmoreland, and the lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themſelves, on many accounts, the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Saliſbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldeſt ſon by a ſecond marriage of the earl of Weſtmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Saliſbury, killed before Orleans, the poſſeſſions and title of that great family. His eldeſt ſon, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the poſſeſſions, and had acquired the title, of that other family, one of the moſt opulent, moſt ancient, and moſt illuſtrious, in England. The perſonal qualities alſo of theſe two earls, eſpecially of Warwick, enhanced the ſplendour of their nobility, and increaſed their influence over the people.

This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the ſubſequent events, by the appellation of the 'King-maker,' had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in the field, by the hoſpitality of his table, by the magnificence, and ſtill more by the generoſity, of his expenſe, and by the ſpirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undeſigning frankneſs and openneſs of his character rendered his conqueſt over men's affections the more certain and infallible; his preſents were regarded as ſure teſtimonies of eſteem and friendſhip, and his profeſſions as the overflowings of his genuine ſentiments. No leſs than thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and caſtles which he poſſeſſed in England. The military men, allured by his munificence and hoſpitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealouſly attached to his intereſts: the people in general bore him an unlimited affection: his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will than to the prince or to the laws: and he was the greateſt, as well as the laſt, of thoſe mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular ſyſtem of civil government.

But the duke of York, beſides the family of Nevil, had many other partiſans among the great nobility. Courtney earl of Devonſhire, deſcended from a very noble family of that name in France, was attached to his intereſts; Moubray duke of Norfolk had, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaſter, embraced the ſame party: and the diſcontents, which univerſally prevailed among the people, rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government.

Though the people were never willing to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for keeping poſſeſſion of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loſs of theſe boaſted acquiſitions; and fancied, becauſe a ſudden irruption could make

conqueſts, that, without ſteady counſels and a uniform expenſe, it was poſſible to maintain them. The voluntary ceſſion of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them ſuſpect treachery in the loſs of Normandy and Guienne: they ſtill conſidered Margaret as a French woman, and a latent enemy of the kingdom: and, when they ſaw her father and all her relations active in promoting the ſucceſs of the French, they could not be perſuaded that ſhe, who was all powerful in the Engliſh council, would very zealouſly oppoſe them in their enterpriſes.

But the moſt fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the intereſts of the houſe of Lancaſter, was by the aſſaſſination of the virtuous duke of Gloceſter, whoſe character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partiſans of York; but whoſe memory, being extremely cheriſhed by the people, ſerved to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family ſuffered a double prejudice; it was deprived of its firmeſt ſupport, and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous aſſaſſination.

As the duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamours, which neceſſarily roſe againſt him, as prime miniſter and declared favourite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became abſolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to ſee a ſubject exalted above them; much more one who was only great grandſon to a merchant, and who was of a birth ſo much inferior to theirs. The people complained of his arbitrary meaſures; which were, in ſome degree, a neceſſary conſequence of the irregular power then poſſeſſed by the prince, but which the leaſt diſaffection eaſily magnified into tyranny. The great acquiſitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and, as they were gained at the expenſe of the crown, which was itſelf reduced to po-

verty, they appeared, on that account, to all indifferent perſons, the more exceptionable and invidious.

The revenues of the crown, which had long been diſproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry,[P] both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the neceſſary expenſes of the French war, which had always been very ill ſupplied by the grants of parliament. The royal demeſnes were diſſipated; and at the ſame time the king was loaded with a debt of three hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, a ſum ſo great, that the parliament could never think of diſcharging it. This unhappy ſituation forced the miniſters upon many arbitrary meaſures. The houſehold itſelf could not be ſupported without ſtretching to the utmoſt the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of univerſal robbery upon the people. The public clamour roſe high upon this occaſion, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the neceſſity of the king's ſituation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the adminiſtration, was univerſally imputed to his tyranny and injuſtice.

## IMPEACHMENT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

This nobleman, ſenſible of the public hatred under which he laboured, and foreſeeing an attack from the commons, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly preſenting himſelf to the charge, and by inſiſting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and thoſe of his family, in the public ſervice. He roſe in the houſe of peers; took notice of the clamours propagated againſt him; and complained that, after ſerving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad ſeventeen years without once returning to his native country; after loſing

a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himſelf a priſoner, and purchaſing his liberty by a great ranſom; it ſhould yet be ſuſpected that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever oppoſed with ſuch zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his ſervices by the higheſt honours and greateſt offices that it was in his power to confer.[q] This ſpeech did not anſwer the purpoſe intended. The commons, rather provoked at his challenge, opened their charge againſt him, and ſent up to the peers an accuſation of high treaſon, divided into ſeveral articles. They inſiſted that he had perſuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depoſe the king, and to place on the throne his own ſon, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John duke of Somerſet, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown: that he had contributed to the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would aſſiſt king Charles in expelling the Engliſh from France, and recovering full poſſeſſion of his kingdom: that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conqueſts by betraying the ſecrets of England, and obſtructing the ſuccours intended to be ſent to thoſe provinces: and that he had, without any powers or commiſſion, promiſed by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it; which proved in the iſſue the chief cauſe of the loſs of Normandy.[r]

It is evident, from a review of theſe articles, that the commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamours againſt the duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could ſeriouſly believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible than that a nobleman, ſo little eminent

by his birth and character, could think of acquiring the crown to his family, and of depoſing Henry by foreign force, and, together with him, Margaret, his patron, a princeſs of ſo much ſpirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the houſe, who knew that he had intended to marry his ſon to one of the coheirs of the earl of Warwick, and was diſappointed in his views only by the death of that lady; and he obſerved that Margaret of Somerſet could bring to her huſband no title to the crown, becauſe ſhe herſelf was not ſo much as comprehended in the entail ſettled by act of parliament. It is eaſy to account for the loſs of Normandy and Guienne, from the ſituation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without ſuppoſing any treachery in the Engliſh miniſters; and it may ſafely be affirmed that greater vigour was requiſite to defend theſe provinces from the arms of Charles VII, than to conquer them at firſt from his predeceſſor. It could never be the intereſt of any Engliſh miniſter to betray and abandon ſuch acquiſitions; much leſs of one who was ſo well eſtabliſhed in his maſter's favour, who enjoyed ſuch high honours and ample poſſeſſions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the moſt extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle. But Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this meaſure was approved of by ſeveral at the council table;* and it ſeems hard to aſcribe to it, as is done by the commons, the ſubſequent loſs of Normandy and expulſion of the Engliſh. Normandy lay open on every ſide to the invaſion of the French; Maine, an inland province, muſt ſoon after have fallen without any attack; and, as the Engliſh poſſeſſed in other parts more fortreſſes than they could garriſon or provide for, it ſeemed no

bad policy to contract their force, and to render the defence practicable by reducing it within a narrower compass.

## SUFFOLK'S BANISHMENT AND DEATH.

THE commons were probably ſenſible that this charge of treaſon againſt Suffolk would not bear a ſtrict ſcrutiny; and they, therefore, ſoon after, ſent up againſt him a new charge of miſdemeanors, which they alſo divided into ſeveral articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper perſons, had perverted juſtice by maintaining iniquitous cauſes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders.' The articles are moſtly general, but are not improbable; and, as Suffolk ſeems to have been a bad man and a bad miniſter, it will not be raſh in us to think that he was guilty, and that many of theſe articles could have been proved againſt him. The court was alarmed at the proſecution of a favourite miniſter, who lay under ſuch a load of popular prejudices; and an expedient was fallen upon to ſave him from preſent ruin. The king ſummoned all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment. The priſoner was produced before them, and aſked what he could ſay in his own defence. He denied the charge, but ſubmitted to the king's mercy. Henry expreſſed himſelf not ſatisfied with regard to the firſt impeachment for treaſon; but, in conſideration of the ſecond, for miſdemeanors, he declared that, by virtue of Suffolk's own ſubmiſſion, not by any judicial authority, he baniſhed him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained ſilent; but, as ſoon as they returned to their own houſe, they entered a proteſt that this ſentence ſhould nowiſe infringe their privileges; and that, if Suffolk had inſiſted upon his right, and had not voluntarily ſub-

mitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was eaſy to ſee that theſe irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, he would, on the firſt favourable opportunity, be reſtored to his country, and be reinſtated in his former power and credit. A captain of a veſſel was, therefore, employed by his enemies to intercept him in his paſſage to France: he was ſeized near Dover; his head ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea.[a] No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded to Suffolk's power in the miniſtry, and credit with the queen; and, as he was the perſon under whoſe government the French provinces had been loſt, the public, who always judge by the event, ſoon made him equally the object of their animoſity and hatred. The duke of York was abſent in Ireland during all theſe tranſactions; and, however it might be ſuſpected that his partiſans had excited and ſupported the proſecution againſt Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie againſt him. But there happened, ſoon after, an incident which rouſed the jealouſy of the court, and diſcovered to them the extreme danger to which they were expoſed from the pretenſions of that popular prince.

## POPULAR INSURRECTIONS.

The humours of the people, ſet afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of ſo great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were ſoon ſuppreſſed; but there aroſe one in Kent which was attended with more

dangerous conſequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, obſerved, on his return to England, the diſcontents of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at firſt crowned with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is ſuppoſed, to paſs himſelf for a ſon of that ſir John Mortimer who had been ſentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treaſon given in againſt him.[x] On the firſt mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thouſand, flocked to Cade's ſtandard; and he excited their zeal by publiſhing complaints againſt the numerous abuſes in government, and demanding a redreſs of grievances. The court, not yet fully ſenſible of the danger, ſent a ſmall force againſt the rioters, under the command of ſir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and ſlain in an action near Sevenoke;[y] and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he ſtill maintained the appearance of moderation; and, ſending to the court a plauſible liſt of grievances,[z] he promiſed that, when theſe ſhould be redreſſed, and when lord Say the treaſurer and Cromer ſheriff of Kent ſhould be puniſhed for their malverſations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council, who obſerved that nobody was willing to fight againſt men ſo reaſonable in their pretenſions, carried the king, for preſent ſafety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them into the fields during the night-time; and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt plunder and violence of every kind: but, being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence againſt Say and

Cromer, to put theſe men to death without a legal trial,[a] he found that, after the commiſſion of this crime, he was no longer maſter of their riotous diſpoſition, and that all his orders were neglected.[b] They broke into a rich houſe, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, ſhut their gates againſt them; and, being ſeconded by a detachment of ſoldiers ſent them by lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulſed the rebels with great ſlaughter.[c] The Kentiſh men were ſo diſcouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rocheſter, and there diſperſed. The pardon was ſoon after annulled, as extorted by violence: a price was ſet on Cade's head,[d] who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex; and many of his followers were capitally puniſhed for their rebellion.

It was imagined, by the court, that the duke of York had ſecretly inſtigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try, by that experiment, the diſpoſitions of the people towards his title and family;[e] and, as the event had ſo far ſucceeded to his wiſh, the ruling party had greater reaſon than ever to apprehend the future conſequences of his pretenſions. At the ſame time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and, fearing that he meant to bring an armed force along with him, they iſſued orders, in the king's name, for oppoſing him, and for debarring him entrance into England.[f] But the duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: the precautions of the miniſters ſerved only to ſhew him their jealouſy and malignity againſt him: he was ſenſible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was alſo become dangerous to himſelf: he now ſaw the impoſſibility of remaining in his preſent ſituation, and the neceſſity of proceeding forward in ſupport of his claim. His partiſans, therefore, were inſtructed to

maintain, in all companies, his right by ſucceſſion, and by the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of the kingdom. Theſe queſtions became every day more and more the ſubject of converſation. The minds of men were inſenſibly ſharpened againſt each other by diſputes, before they came to more dangerous extremities; and various topics were pleaded in ſupport of the pretenſions of each party.

## THE PARTIES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

The partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter maintained that, though the elevation of Henry IV might at firſt be deemed ſomewhat irregular, and could not be juſtified by any of thoſe principles on which that prince choſe to reſt his title, it was yet founded on general conſent, was a national act, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being looſened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a ſenſe of public intereſt, to intruſt the ſceptre into the hands of their deliverer: that, even if that eſtabliſhment were allowed to be at firſt invalid, it had acquired ſolidity by time; the only principle which ultimately gives authority to government, and removes thoſe ſcruples which the irregular ſteps attending almoſt all revolutions naturally excite in the minds of the people: that the right of ſucceſſion was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity, and the ſubverſion of regular eſtabliſhments: that the principles of liberty, no leſs than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by theſe pretenſions of the houſe of York; and, if ſo many reiterated acts of the legiſlature, by which the crown was entailed on the preſent family, were now invalidated, the Engliſh muſt be conſidered not as a

free people, who could diſpoſe of their own government, but as a troop of ſlaves, who were implicitly tranſmitted by ſucceſſion from one maſter to another: that the nation was bound to allegiance under the houſe of Lancaſter by moral, no leſs than by political, duty; and, were they to infringe thoſe numerous oaths of fealty which they had ſworn to Henry and his predeceſſors, they would thenceforth be thrown looſe from all principles, and it would be found difficult ever after to fix and reſtrain them: that the duke of York himſelf had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful ſovereign, and had thereby, in the moſt ſolemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of thoſe claims with which he now dares to diſturb the tranquillity of the public: that, even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the depoſition of Richard, was perhaps raſh and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the miſchief; the danger of a diſputed ſucceſſion could no longer be obviated; the people, accuſtomed to a government, which, in the hands of the late king, had been ſo glorious, and in that of his predeceſſor ſo prudent and ſalutary, would ſtill aſcribe a right to it; by cauſing multiplied diſorders, and by ſhedding an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another; and the houſe of York itſelf, if eſtabliſhed on the throne, would, on the firſt opportunity, be expoſed to thoſe revolutions which the giddy ſpirit excited in the people gave ſo much reaſon to apprehend: and that, though the preſent king enjoyed not the ſhining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might ſtill have a ſon who ſhould be endowed with them; he is himſelf eminent for the moſt harmleſs and inoffenſive manners; and, if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain, in the conſtitution, no eſtabliſhed rule of obedience to any ſovereign.

Theſe ſtrong topics, in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, were oppoſed by arguments no leſs convincing on the ſide of the houſe of York. The partiſans of this latter family aſſerted that the maintenance of order in the ſucceſſion of princes, far from doing injury to the people, or invalidating their fundamental title to good government, was eſtabliſhed only for the purpoſes of government, and ſerved to prevent thoſe numberleſs confuſions which muſt enſue if no rule were followed but the uncertain and diſputed views of preſent convenience and advantage: that the ſame maxims which enſured public peace were alſo ſalutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the obſervance of laws; and, if no account were made of the rights of the ſovereign, it could leſs be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the ſubject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjuſt eſtabliſhment, the longer it ſtood, acquired the greater ſanction and validity; it could, with more appearance of reaſon, be pleaded as an authority for a like injuſtice; and the maintenance of it, inſtead of favouring public tranquillity, tended to disjoint every principle by which human ſociety was ſupported: that uſurpers would be happy if their preſent poſſeſſion of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miſerable than the people if all reſtraints on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full ſcope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: that time, indeed, might beſtow ſolidity on a government whoſe firſt foundations were the moſt infirm; but it required both a long courſe of time to produce this effect, and the total extinction of thoſe claimants whoſe title was built on the original principles of the conſtitution: that the depoſition of Richard II, and the advancement of Henry IV, were not deliberate national acts, but the reſult of

the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from thoſe very defects in human nature which the eſtabliſhment of political ſociety, and of an order in ſucceſſion, was calculated to prevent: that the ſubſequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the ſame violence and uſurpation; they were not ratified by the legiſlature, ſince the conſent of the rightful king was ſtill wanting; and the acquieſcence, firſt of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from preſent neceſſity, and implied no renunciation of their pretenſions: that the reſtoration of the true order of ſucceſſion could not be conſidered as a change which familiarized the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuſe, which had itſelf encouraged the giddy ſpirit of innovations, rebellion, and diſobedience: and that, as the original title of Lancaſter ſtood only in the perſon of Henry IV, on preſent convenience, even this principle, unjuſtifiable as it was when not ſupported by laws and warranted by the conſtitution, had now entirely gone over to the other ſide; nor was there any compariſon between a prince utterly unable to ſway the ſceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt miniſters, or by an imperious queen engaged in foreign and hoſtile intereſts, and a prince of mature years, of approved wiſdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his reſtoration, would replace every thing on ancient foundations.

So many plauſible arguments could be urged on both ſides of this intereſting queſtion, that the people were extremely divided in their ſentiments; and, though the noblemen of greateſt power and influence ſeem to have eſpouſed the party of York, the oppoſite cauſe had the advantage of being ſupported by the preſent laws, and by the immediate poſſeſſion of royal authority. There were alſo many great noblemen in the Lancaſtrian party, who balanced the power of their antagoniſts, and kept the nation in

ſuſpenſe between them. The earl of Northumberland adhered to the preſent government; the earl of Weſtmoreland, in ſpite of his connexions with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the ſame party; and the whole north of England, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of theſe two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the intereſts of Lancaſter. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, and his brother Henry, were great ſupports of that cauſe; as were alſo Henry Holland duke of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this ſituation it might naturally be expected that ſo many turbulent barons, poſſeſſed of ſo much independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms, and have decided the quarrel, after their uſual manner, by war and battle, under the ſtandards of the contending princes. But there ſtill were many cauſes which retarded theſe deſperate extremities, and made a long train of faction, intrigue, and cabal, precede the military operations. By the gradual progreſs of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of ſome importance; laws were beginning to be reſpected by them; and it was requiſite, by various pretences, previouſly to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of ſuch an ancient eſtabliſhment as that of the houſe of Lancaſter, ere their concurrence could reaſonably be expected. The duke of York himſelf, the new claimant, was of a moderate and cautious character, an enemy to violence, and diſpoſed to truſt rather to time and policy than to ſanguinary meaſures for the ſucceſs of his pretenſions. The very imbecility itſelf of Henry tended to keep the factions in ſuſpenſe, and make them ſtand long in awe of each other; it rendered the Lancaſtrian party unable to ſtrike any violent blow againſt their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkiſts

to hope that, after baniſhing the king's miniſters, and getting poſſeſſion of his perſon, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous expedient of a civil war, to change the ſucceſſion by parliamentary and legal authority.

The diſpoſitions, which appeared in a parliament aſſembled ſoon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, favoured theſe expectations of his partiſans, and both diſcovered an unuſual boldneſs in the commons, and were a proof of the general diſcontents which prevailed againſt the adminiſtration. The lower houſe, without any previous inquiry or examination, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to preſent a petition againſt the duke of Somerſet, the ducheſs of Suffolk, the biſhop of Cheſter, ſir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and ſeveral others of inferior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his perſon and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court.[5] This was a violent attack, ſomewhat arbitrary, and ſupported but by few precedents, againſt the miniſtry; yet the king durſt not openly oppoſe it: he replied that, except the lords, he would baniſh all the others from court during a year, unleſs he ſhould have occaſion for their ſervice in ſuppreſſing any rebellion. At the ſame time he rejected a bill, which had paſſed both houſes, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in ſeveral of its clauſes, diſcovered a very general prejudice againſt the meaſures of the court.

## FIRST ARMAMENT OF THE DUKE OF YORK. 1452.

The duke of York, truſting to theſe ſymptoms, raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, with which he marched towards London; demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal

of the duke of Somerſet from all power and authority.[h] He unexpectedly found the gates of the city ſhut againſt him: and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king at the head of a ſuperior army; in which ſeveral of Richard's friends, particularly Saliſbury and Warwick, appeared; probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of ſeconding, on occaſion, the duke of York's pretenſions. A parley enſued; Richard ſtill inſiſted upon the removal of Somerſet, and his ſubmitting to a trial in parliament. The court pretended to comply with his demand, and that nobleman was put in arreſt. The duke of York was then perſuaded to pay his reſpects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, he was ſurpriſed to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to lower his pretenſions. No violence, however, was attempted againſt him; the nation was not in a diſpoſition to bear the deſtruction of ſo popular a prince; he had many friends in Henry's camp; and his ſon, who was not in the power of the court, might ſtill be able to revenge his death on all his enemies; he was therefore diſmiſſed, and he retired to his ſeat of Wigmore on the borders of Wales.[i]

While the duke of York lived in this retreat there happened an incident which, by increaſing the public diſcontents, proved favourable to his pretenſions. Several Gaſcon lords, affectionate to the Engliſh government, and diſguſted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry.[k] The earl of Shrewſbury, with a body of eight thouſand men, was ſent over to ſupport them. Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: he made himſelf maſter of Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other places. Affairs began to wear a

favourable aſpect. But, as Charles haſtened to reſiſt this dangerous invaſion, the fortunes of the Engliſh were ſoon reverſed: Shrewſbury, a venerable warrior, above fourſcore years of age, fell in battle; his conqueſts were loſt; Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to the French king;[l] and all hopes of recovering the province of Gaſcony were for ever extinguiſhed.

Though the Engliſh might deem themſelves happy to be fairly rid of diſtant dominions which were of no uſe to them, and which they never could defend againſt the growing power of France, they expreſſed great diſcontent on the occaſion; and they threw all the blame on the miniſtry, who had not been able to effect impoſſibilities. While they were in this diſpoſition the queen's delivery of a ſon, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and, as it removed all hopes of the peaceable ſucceſſion of the duke of York, who was otherwiſe, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Lancaſter, next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counſels; and, even when no viſible obſtacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own ſcruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exerciſe the government, fell at this time into a diſtemper, which ſo far increaſed his natural imbecility that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, deſtitute of this ſupport, found themſelves unable to reſiſt the York party, and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They ſent Somerſet to the tower, and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a ſeſſion of parliament.[m] That aſſembly alſo, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, created him protector during pleaſure. Men, who thus intruſted ſovereign authority to one that had ſuch

evident and ſtrong pretenſions to the crown, were not ſurely averſe to his taking immediate and full poſſeſſion of it; yet the duke, inſtead of puſhing them to make farther conceſſions, appeared ſomewhat timid and irreſolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He deſired that it might be recorded in parliament that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part; he expreſſed his hopes that they would aſſiſt him in the exerciſe of it; he made it a condition of his acceptance that the other lords, who were appointed to be of his council, ſhould alſo accept of the truſt, and ſhould exerciſe it; and he required that all the powers of his office ſhould be ſpecified and defined by act of parliament. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unuſual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad conſequences in the preſent juncture, and, by giving time to the animoſities of faction to riſe and ferment, it proved the ſource of all thoſe furious wars and commotions which enſued.

## FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS. 1455.

The enemies of the duke of York ſoon found it in their power to make advantage of his exceſſive caution. Henry being ſo far recovered from his diſtemper as to carry the appearance of exerciſing the royal power, they moved him to reſume his authority, to annul the protectorſhip of the duke, to releaſe Somerſet from the tower,[n] and to commit the adminiſtration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, ſenſible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commiſſion ſhould he ſubmit to the annulling of it, levied an army, but ſtill without advancing any pretenſions to the crown; he complained only of the king's miniſters, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans,

in which the Yorkiſts were ſuperior, and, without ſuffering any material loſs, ſlew about five thouſand of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction.° The king himſelf fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great reſpect and tenderneſs; he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardſhip) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.

This was the firſt blood ſpilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finiſhed in leſs than a courſe of thirty years, which was ſignalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a ſcene of extraordinary fierceneſs and cruelty, is computed to have coſt the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almoſt entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The ſtrong attachments, which at that time men of the ſame kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive ſpirit, which was conſidered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their reſentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the laſt extremities; the nation was kept ſome time in ſuſpenſe; the vigour and ſpirit of queen Margaret, ſupporting her ſmall power, ſtill proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irreſolute temper. A parliament, which was ſoon after aſſembled, plainly diſcovered, by the contrariety of their proceedings, the contrariety of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkiſts a general indemnity; and they reſtored the protectorſhip to the duke, who, in accepting it, ſtill perſevered in all his former precautions: but at the ſame time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorſhip to the majority of his ſon Edward, who was veſted with the uſual dignities of prince of Wales.

duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chefter. The only decifive act, paſſed in this parliament, was a full reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince the death of Henry V, and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

It was not found difficult to wreſt power from hands ſo little tenacious as thoſe of the duke of York. Margaret, availing herſelf of that prince's abſence, produced her huſband before the houſe of lords; and, as his ſtate of health permitted him at that time to act his part with ſome tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of reſuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This meaſure, being unexpected, was not oppoſed by the contrary party; the houſe of lords, who were many of them diſguſted with the late act of reſumption, aſſented to Henry's propoſal; and the king was declared to be reinſtated in ſovereign authority. Even the duke of York acquieſced in this irregular act of the peers, and no diſturbance enſued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the ſteps which he had taken to promote it were too evident, ever to allow ſincere truſt and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick to attend the king's perſon. When they were on the road they received intelligence that deſigns were formed againſt their liberties and lives. They immediately ſeparated themſelves: Richard withdrew to his caſtle of Wigmore; Saliſbury to Middleham in Yorkſhire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Albans, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmoſt importance in the preſent juncture. Still men of peaceable diſpoſitions, and among the reſt Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpoſe with their good offices, in order to prevent that effuſion

of blood with which the kingdom was threatened; and the awe in which each party ſtood of the other rendered the mediation for ſome time ſucceſsful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both ſides ſhould meet in London, and be ſolemnly reconciled. The duke of York and his partiſans came thither with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near each other for mutual ſecurity. The leaders of the Lancaſtrian party uſed the ſame precaution. The mayor, at the head of five thouſand men, kept a ſtrict watch night and day, and was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them.[p] Terms were adjuſted, which removed not the ground of difference. An outward reconciliation only was procured; and, in order to notify this accord to the whole people, a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's was appointed, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the oppoſite. The leſs real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonſtrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident that a conteſt for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated; that each party watched only for an opportunity of ſubverting the other; and that much blood muſt yet be ſpilt ere the nation could be reſtored to perfect tranquillity, or enjoy a ſettled and eſtabliſhed government.

Even the ſmalleſt accident, without any formed deſign, was ſufficient, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, to diſſolve the ſeeming harmony between the parties; and, had the intentions of the leaders been ever ſo amicable, they would have found it difficult to reſtrain the animoſity of their followers. One of the king's retinue inſulted one of the earl of Warwick's; their companions on both ſides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat enſued; the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at; he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every

county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the conteſt by war and arms.

## BATTLE OF BLORE-HEATH. 1459.

The earl of Saliſbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, who commanded much ſuperior forces; and a ſmall rivulet with ſteep banks ran between the armies. Saliſbury here ſupplied his defect in numbers by ſtratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few inſtances in the Engliſh civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation: but, when the van of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them; and, partly by the ſurpriſe, partly by the diviſion, of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout. The example of flight was followed by the reſt of the army; and Saliſbury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkiſts at Ludlow.[q]

The earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occaſioned, in the iſſue, the immediate ruin of the duke of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, ſir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deſerted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkiſts were ſo diſmayed at this inſtance of treachery, which made every man ſuſpicious of his fellow, that they ſeparated next day without ſtriking a ſtroke.[r] The duke fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders, eſcaped to Calais, where his great popularity

among all orders of men, particularly among the military, ſoon drew to him partiſans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the houſe of York, in England, kept themſelves every where in readineſs to riſe on the firſt ſummons from their leaders.

## BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON. 1460.

After meeting with ſome ſucceſſes at ſea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Saliſbury and the earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York; and, being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, he marched, amidſt the acclamations of the people, to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and, his troops increaſing on every day's march, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton; and was ſoon decided againſt the royaliſts by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deſerted to the enemy during the heat of action, and ſpread a conſternation through the troops. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and ſir William Lucie, were killed in the action or purſuit; the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility; the common people were ſpared by orders of the earls of Warwick and Marche.[s] Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again taken priſoner; and, as the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners, which bore the appearance of ſanctity, had procured him the tender regard of the people,[t] the earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their reſpectful demeanour towards him.

## A PARLIAMENT.

A PARLIAMENT was ſummoned in the king's name, and met at Weſtminſter, where the duke ſoon after appeared from Ireland. This prince had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown; he had only complained of ill miniſters, and demanded a redreſs of grievances; and, even in the preſent criſis, when the parliament was ſurrounded by his victorious army, he ſhewed ſuch a regard to law and liberty as is unuſual during the prevalence of a party in any civil diſſenſions, and was ſtill leſs to be expected in thoſe violent and licentious times. He advanced towards the throne; and, being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him whether he had yet paid his reſpects to the king; he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then ſtood near the throne,[u] and, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe of peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by deſcent; mentioned the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved their way to ſovereign power; inſiſted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; exhorted them to return into the right path, by doing juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor; and thus pleaded his cauſe before them as his natural and legal judges.[w] This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown intimidated his friends, and encouraged his enemies: the lords remained in ſuſpenſe,[x] and no one ventured to utter a word on the occaſion. Richard, who had probably expected that the peers would have invited him to place himſelf on the throne, was much diſappointed at their ſilence; but, deſiring them to reflect on what he had propoſed to them, he departed the houſe. The peers took the matter into conſideration with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common ſubject of debate; they deſired the aſſiſtance of ſome

conſiderable members among the commons in their deliberations; they heard, in ſeveral ſucceſſive days, the reaſons alleged for the duke of York; they even ventured to propoſe objections to his claim, founded on former entails of the crown, and on the oaths of fealty ſworn to the houſe of Lancaſter;[y] they alſo obſerved that, as Richard had all along born the arms of York, not thoſe of Clarence, he could not claim as ſucceſſor to the latter family; and, after receiving anſwers to theſe objections, derived from the violence and power by which the houſe of Lancaſter ſupported their preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, they proceeded to give a deciſion. Their ſentence was calculated, as far as poſſible, to pleaſe both parties. They declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeaſible; but, in conſideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown without diſpute or controverſy during the courſe of thirty-eight years, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of the government, meanwhile, ſhould remain with Richard; that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion, and it ſhould be treaſon to attempt his life; and that all former ſettlements of the crown, in this and the two laſt reigns, ſhould be abrogated and reſcinded.[z] The duke acquieſced in this deciſion; Henry himſelf, being a priſoner, could not oppoſe it; even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance againſt it; and the act thus paſſed with the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlative body. Though the mildneſs of this compromiſe is chiefly to be aſcribed to the moderation of the duke of York, it is impoſſible not to obſerve in thoſe tranſactions viſible marks of a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of Engliſh hiſtory.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the commons a ſettlement more conſiſtent and uniform: but, as many, if not all the members of the upper houſe, had received grants, conceſſions, or dignities, during the laſt ſixty years, when the houſe of Lancaſter was poſſeſſed of the government, they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too ſudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and, in thus temporiſing between the parties, they fixed the throne on a baſis upon which it could not poſſibly ſtand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to ariſe from the genius and ſpirit of queen Margaret, ſought a pretence for baniſhing her the kingdom: he ſent her, in the king's name, a ſummons to come immediately to London; intending, in caſe of her diſobedience, to proceed to extremities againſt her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton ſhe fled with her infant ſon to Durham, thence to Scotland; but, ſoon returning, ſhe applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their aſſiſtance. Her affability, inſinuation, and addreſs, (qualities in which ſhe excelled) her careſſes, her promiſes, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her: the admiration of her great qualities was ſucceeded by compaſſion towards her helpleſs condition. The nobility of that quarter, who regarded themſelves as the moſt warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the ſouthern barons pretend to diſpoſe of the crown and ſettle the government; and, that they might allure the people to their ſtandard, they promiſed them the ſpoils of all the provinces on the other ſide of the Trent. By theſe means the queen had collected an army twenty thouſand ſtrong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

## BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD: DEATH OF YORK.

THE duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, haſtened thither, with a body of five thouſand men, to ſuppreſs, as he imagined, the beginnings of an inſurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himſelf ſo much outnumbered by the enemy. He threw himſelf into Sandal caſtle, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood; and he was adviſed by the earl of Saliſbury, and other prudent counſellors, to remain in that fortreſs till his ſon, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his aſſiſtance.[a] But the duke, though deficient in political courage, poſſeſſed perſonal bravery in an eminent degree; and, notwithſtanding his wiſdom and experience, he thought that he ſhould be for ever diſgraced if, by taking ſhelter behind walls, he ſhould for a moment reſign the victory to a woman. He deſcended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was inſtantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was ſufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by ſending a detachment who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage ſtill more certain and undiſputed. The duke himſelf was killed in the action; and, as his body was found among the ſlain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in deriſion of his pretended title. His ſon, the earl of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, was brought to lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had periſhed in the battle of St. Albans, murdered, in cool blood and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whoſe exterior figure, as well as other accompliſhments, are repreſented by hiſtorians as extremely amiable. The earl of Saliſbury was wounded and taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded,

with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law at Pomfret.[b] There fell near three thouſand Yorkiſts in this battle. The duke himſelf was greatly and juſtly lamented by his own party; a prince who merited a better fate, and whoſe errors in conduct proceeded entirely from ſuch qualities as render him the more an object of eſteem and affection. He periſhed in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

## BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS. 1461.

THE queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She ſent the ſmaller diviſion, under Jaſper Tudor earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, againſt Edward, the new duke of York. She herſelf marched with the larger diviſion towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkiſts. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Croſs in Herefordſhire, with the loſs of near four thouſand men; his army was diſperſed; he himſelf eſcaped by flight: but his father, ſir Owen Tudor, was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties from a ſpirit of revenge, which covered itſelf under the pretence of retaliation.[c]

## SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

MARGARET compenſated this defeat by a victory which ſhe obtained over the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancaſtrians, led out his army, reinforced by a ſtrong body of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cauſe; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Albans. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable

body of the Yorkiſts, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many inſtances in thoſe civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About two thouſand three hundred of the vanquiſhed periſhed in the battle and purſuit; and the perſon of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was ſure to be almoſt equally a priſoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and ſcarcely any more decorum was obſerved by one than by the other in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whoſe care he had been intruſted by the Yorkiſts, remained with him after the defeat, on aſſurances of pardon given him by Henry: but Margaret, regardleſs of her huſband's promiſe, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman [d] to be ſtruck off by the executioner. Sir Thomas Kiriel, a brave warrior, who had ſignalized himſelf in the French wars, was treated in the ſame manner.

## EDWARD IV ASSUMES THE CROWN.

The queen made no great advantage of this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other ſide; and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was ſoon in a condition of giving her battle with ſuperior forces. She was ſenſible of her danger while ſhe lay between the enemy and the city of London; and ſhe found it neceſſary to retreat with her army [e] to the north. Edward entered the capital amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new ſcene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himſelf ſo much poſſeſſed of public favour, that, elated with the ſpirit natural to his age, he reſolved no longer to confine himſelf within thoſe narrow limits which his father had preſcribed to himſelf, and which had been found by

experience ſo prejudicial to his cauſe. He determined to aſſume the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But, as a national conſent, or the appearance of it, ſtill ſeemed, notwithſtanding his plauſible title, requiſite to precede this bold meaſure, and as the aſſembling of a parliament might occaſion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniencies, he ventured to proceed in a leſs regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obſtacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to aſſemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people ſurrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the rival family; and the people were then aſked whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for king: they unanimouſly exclaimed againſt the propoſal. It was then demanded whether they would accept of Edward, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York: they expreſſed their aſſent by loud and joyful acclamations.[f] A great number of biſhops, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction, were next aſſembled at Baynard's caſtle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was on the ſubſequent day proclaimed in London by the title of Edward IV.[g]

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI; a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the moſt ſplendid proſpects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the ſource of civil wars; but was almoſt entirely indifferent to Henry himſelf, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing his authority, and who, provided he perſonally met with good uſage, was equally eaſy, as he was equally enſlaved, in the hands of his enemies and of

his friends. His weakneſs and his diſputed title were the chief cauſes of the public calamities: but, whether his queen and his miniſters were not alſo guilty of ſome great abuſes of power, it is not eaſy for us at this diſtance of time to determine. There remain no proofs on record of any conſiderable violation of the laws, except in the aſſaſſination of the duke of Glocester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the uſual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THE moſt remarkable law, which paſſed in this reign, was that for the due election of members of parliament in counties. After the fall of the feudal ſyſtem the diſtinction of tenures was in ſome meaſure loſt; and every freeholder, as well thoſe who held of meſne lords as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation (for ſuch it may probably be eſteemed) was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry IV,[h] which gave right to ſuch a multitude of electors as was the occaſion of great diſorder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were enacted limiting the electors to ſuch as poſſeſſed forty ſhillings a year in land, free from all burdens, within the county.[i] This ſum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our preſent money; and it were to be wiſhed that the ſpirit, as well as letter of this law, had been maintained.

The preamble of the ſtatute is remarkable. 'Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and exceſſive numbers of people, many of them of ſmall ſubſtance and value, yet pretending to a right equal to the beſt knights and eſquires; whereby manſlaughters, riots, batteries, and diviſions, among the gentlemen and other

people of the ſame counties ſhall very likely riſe and be, unleſs due remedy be provided in this behalf, &c.' We may learn from theſe expreſſions what an important matter the election of a member of parliament was now become in England; that aſſembly was beginning in this period to aſſume great authority. The commons had it much in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and, if they failed of ſucceſs in this particular, it proceeded leſs from any exorbitant power of the crown than from the licentious ſpirit of the ariſtocracy, and perhaps from the rude education of the age, and their own ignorance of the advantages reſulting from a regular adminiſtration of juſtice.

When the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, fled the kingdom upon the deſertion of their troops, a parliament was ſummoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This parliament ſeems to have been very irregularly conſtituted, and ſcarcely deſerves the name; inſomuch that an act paſſed in it, 'that all ſuch knights of any county as were returned by virtue of the king's letters, without any other election, ſhould be valid, and that no ſheriff ſhould, for returning them, incur the penalty of the ſtatute [k] of Henry IV.' All the acts of that parliament were afterwards reverſed, 'becauſe it was unlawfully ſummoned, and the knights and barons not duly choſen.'

The parliaments in this reign, inſtead of relaxing their vigilance againſt the uſurpations of the court of Rome, endeavoured to enforce the former ſtatutes enacted for that purpoſe. The commons petitioned that no foreigner ſhould be capable of any church preferment, and that the patron might be allowed to preſent anew upon the non-reſidence of any incumbent: [m] but the king eluded theſe petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a ſevere letter againſt the ſtatute of proviſors; which he calls an abominable law, that would infallibly damn every one who ob-

ſerved it.[n] The cardinal of Wincheſter was legate; and, as he was alſo a kind of prime miniſter, and immenſely rich from the profits of his clerical dignities, the parliament became jealous leſt he ſhould extend the papal power; and they proteſted that the cardinal ſhould abſent himſelf in all affairs and councils of the king, whenever the pope or ſee of Rome was touched upon.[o]

Permiſſion was given by parliament to export corn when it was at low prices; wheat at ſix ſhillings and eight pence a quarter, money of that age; barley at three ſhillings and four pence.[p] It appears from theſe prices that corn ſtill remained at near half its preſent value, though other commodities were much cheaper. The inland commerce of corn was alſo opened in the eighteenth of the king, by allowing any collector of the cuſtoms to grant a licenſe for carrying it from one county to another.[q] The ſame year a kind of navigation act was propoſed with regard to all places within the Streights; but the king rejected it.[r]

The firſt inſtance of debt contracted upon parliamentary ſecurity occurs in this reign.[s] The commencement of this pernicious practice deſerves to be noted; a practice the more likely to become pernicious the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very exiſtence of the nation.

EDWARD IV. DECLARING HIS ATTACHMENT TO LADY ELIZ. GRAY.

CHAP. XXII.

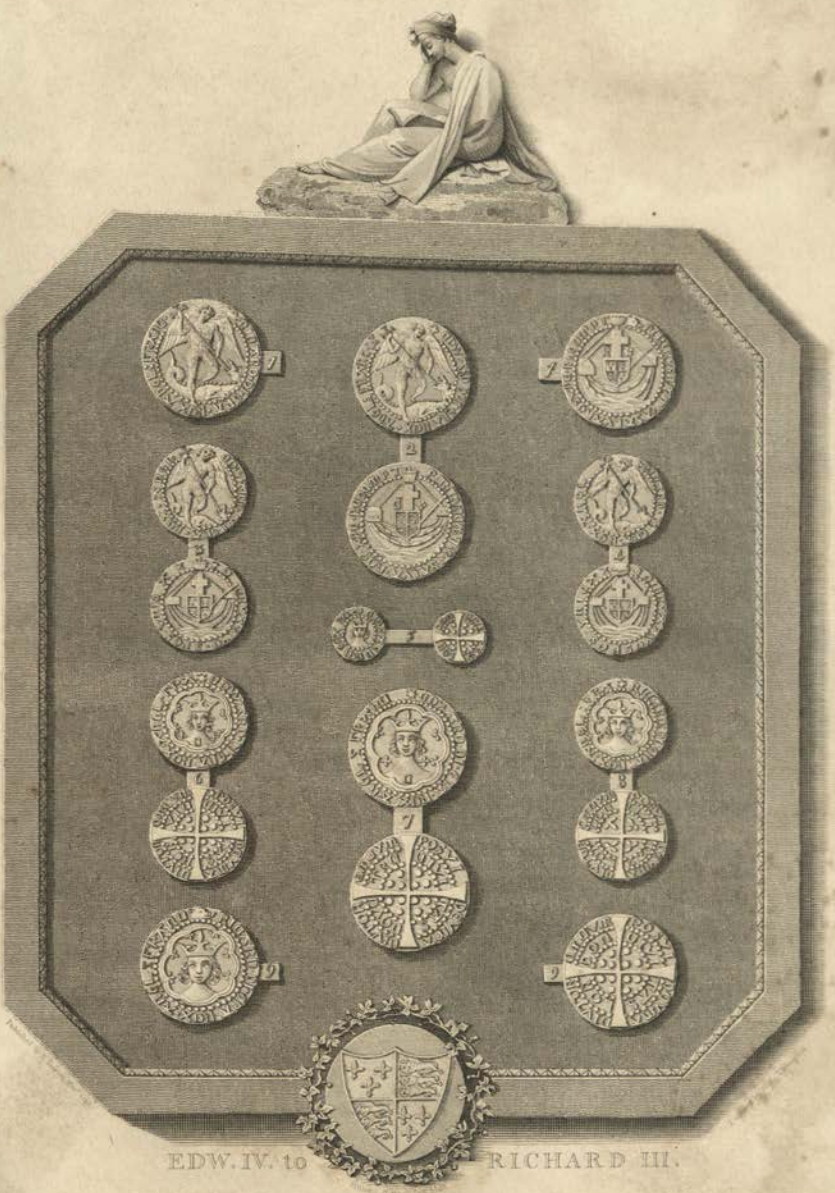
EDWARD IV.

BATTLE OF TOUTON; HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND; BATTLE OF HEXHAM. HENRY TAKEN PRISONER; KING'S MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY ELIZABETH GRAY; ALLIANCE WITH BURGUNDY; BATTLE OF BANBURY; EDWARD IV EXPELLED; HENRY VI RESTORED; EDWARD IV RETURNS; BATTLE OF BARNET AND DEATH OF WARWIC; DEATH OF HENRY VI; INVASION OF FRANCE; DEATH & CHARACTER OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Fathers sculp.

Fathers A. del.

HOUSE
OF
YORK



EDW. IV. to RICHARD III.

# CHAPTER XXII.

## EDWARD IV.

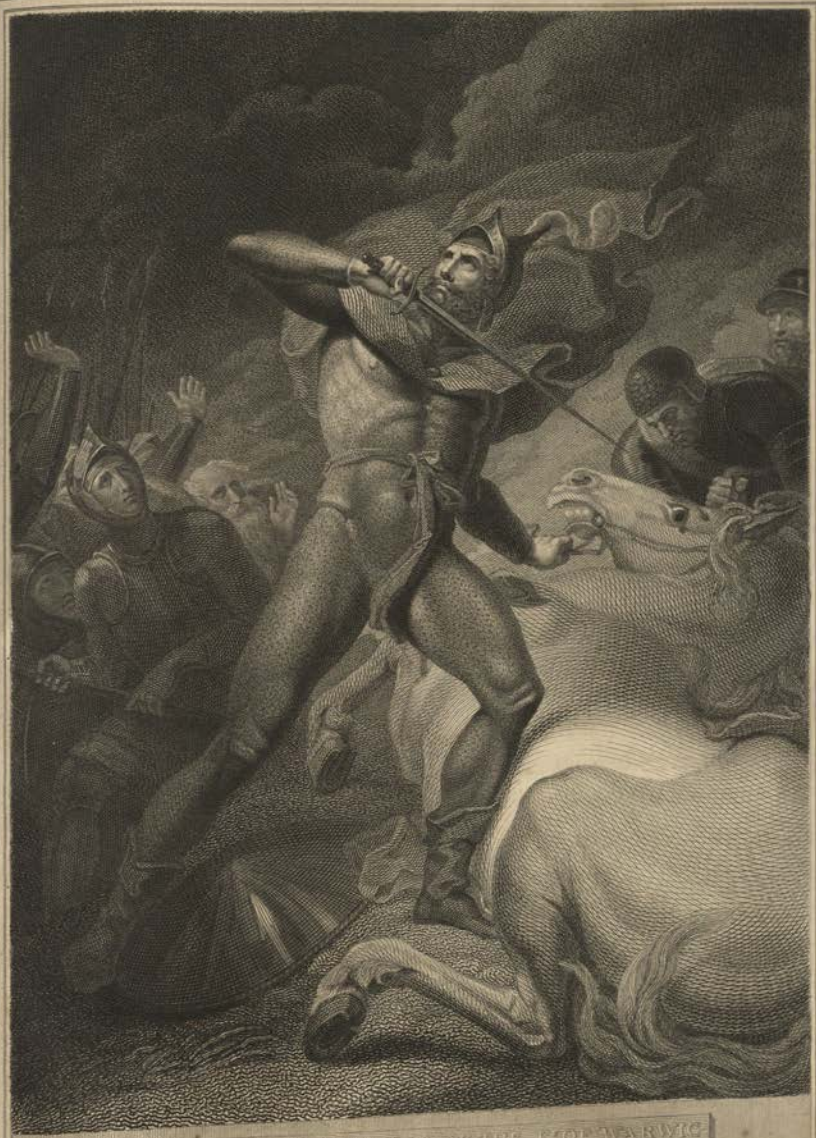
### 1461....1483.

BATTLE OF TOUTON....HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND....A PARLIAMENT....BATTLE OF HEXHAM....HENRY TAKEN PRISONER, AND CONFINED IN THE TOWER....KING'S MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY ELIZABETH GRAY....WARWICK DISGUSTED....ALLIANCE WITH BURGUNDY....INSURRECTION: BATTLE OF BANBURY....WARWICK AND CLARENCE BANISHED....WARWICK AND CLARENCE RETURN....EDWARD IV EXPELLED....HENRY VI RESTORED....EDWARD IV RETURNS....BATTLE OF BARNET, AND DEATH OF WARWICK....BATTLE OF TEUKESBURY....MURDER OF PRINCE EDWARD, AND DEATH OF HENRY VI....INVASION OF FRANCE....PEACE OF PECQUIGNI....TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE....DEATH AND CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through ſuch a ſcene of war, havoc, and devaſtation, as muſt conduct him to the full poſſeſſion of that crown which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had aſſumed from the tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterpriſing; and his hardneſs of heart and ſeverity of character rendered him impregnable to all

thoſe movements of compaſſion, which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of the moſt bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave ſymptoms of his ſanguinary diſpoſition. A tradeſman of London, who kept ſhop at the ſign of the Crown, having ſaid that he would make his ſon heir to the Crown; this harmleſs pleaſantry was interpreted to be ſpoken in deriſion of Edward's aſſumed title, and he was condemned and executed for the offence.[t] Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which enſued. The ſcaffold, as well as the field, inceſſantly ſtreamed with the nobleſt blood of England, ſpilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whoſe animoſity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different ſymbols of party: the partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe the red roſe as their mark of diſtinction, thoſe of York were denominated from the white; and theſe civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roſes.

The licenſe, in which queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops, infuſed great terror and averſion into the city of London, and all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom; and, as ſhe there expected an obſtinate reſiſtance, ſhe had prudently retired northwards among her own partiſans. The ſame licenſe, joined to the zeal of faction, ſoon brought great multitudes to her ſtandard; and ſhe was able, in a few days, to aſſemble an army, ſixty thouſand ſtrong, in Yorkſhire. The king and the earl of Warwick haſtened, with an army of forty thouſand men, to check her progreſs; and, when they reached Pomfret, they diſpatched a body of troops, under the command of lord Fitzwalter, to ſecure the paſſage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took poſſeſſion of the poſt aſſigned him; but was not able to maintain it



THE RESOLUTE CONDUCT OF THE EARL OF WARWIC
PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF TOUTON

againſt lord Clifford, who attacked him with ſuperior numbers. The Yorkiſts were chaſed back with great ſlaughter, and lord Fitzwalter himſelf was ſlain in the action.[u] The earl of Warwick, dreading the conſequences of this diſaſter at a time when a deciſive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horſe to be brought him, which he ſtabbed before the whole army; and, kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, ſwore that he was determined to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier.[w] And, to ſhew the greater ſecurity, a proclamation was at the ſame time iſſued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the ſevereſt puniſhment to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any ſymptoms of cowardice in the enſuing battle.[x] Lord Falconberg was ſent to recover the poſt which had been loſt: he paſſed the river ſome miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, revenged the former diſaſter by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader.[y]

## BATTLE OF TOUTON. 1461.

The hoſtile armies met at Touton; and a fierce and bloody battle enſued. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge there happened a great fall of ſnow, which, driving full in the faces of their enemies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a ſtratagem of lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered ſome infantry to advance before the line, and, after having ſent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidſt the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancaſtrians, imagining that they were gotten within reach of the oppoſite army, diſcharged all their arrows,[z] which thus fell ſhort of the Yorkiſts. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the diſmayed Lancaſtrians. The bow, however, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword

decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter.[a] The routed army was purſued to Tadcaſter with great bloodſhed and confuſion, and above thirty-ſix thouſand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and purſuit:[b] among theſe were the earl of Weſtmoreland, and his brother ſir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and ſir Andrew Trollop.[c] The earl of Devonſhire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a priſoner to Edward, and was ſoon after beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Saliſbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies.

## HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND.

Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but, learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford them ſhelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's ſiſter, had taken part with the Lancaſtrians; and by Henry duke of Somerſet, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the ſon of that nobleman killed in the firſt battle of St. Albans.

Notwithſtanding the great animoſity which prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland had never exerted itſelf with vigour to take advantage, either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which aroſe between the contending families. James I, more laudably employed in civilizing his ſubjects, and taming them to the ſalutary yoke of law and juſtice, avoided all hoſtilities with foreign nations; and,

though he ſeemed intereſted to maintain a balance between France and England, he gave no farther aſſiſtance to the former kingdom in its greateſt diſtreſſes than permitting, and perhaps encouraging, his ſubjects to inliſt in the French ſervice. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor James II, and the diſtractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the ſame ſtate of neutrality; and the ſuperiority, viſibly acquired by France, rendered it then unneceſſary for her ally to interpoſe in her defence. But, when the quarrel commenced between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and became abſolutely incurable but by the total extinction of one party, James, who had now riſen to man's eſtate, was tempted to ſeize the opportunity, and he endeavoured to recover thoſe places which the Engliſh had formerly conquered from his anceſtors. He laid ſiege to the caſtle of Roxborough in 1460, and had provided himſelf with a ſmall train of artillery for that enterpriſe: but his cannon were ſo ill framed, that one of them burſt as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His ſon and ſucceſſor, James III, was alſo a minor on his acceſſion; the uſual diſtractions enſued in the government; the queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aſpired to the regency; the family of Douglas oppoſed her pretenſions; and queen Margaret, when ſhe fled into Scotland, found there a people little leſs divided by faction than thoſe by whom ſhe had been expelled. Though ſhe pleaded the connexions between the royal family of Scotland and the houſe of Lancaſter by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, ſhe could engage the Scottiſh council to go no farther than to expreſs their good wiſhes in her favour: but, on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortreſs of Berwick, and to contract her ſon in marriage with a ſiſter of king James, ſhe found a better reception; and the Scots promiſed the aſſiſtance of their arms to

reinſtate her family upon the throne.[d] But, as the danger from that quarter ſeemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not purſue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat, but returned to London, where a parliament was ſummoned for ſettling the government.

## A PARLIAMENT.

On the meeting of this aſſembly Edward found the good effects of his vigorous meaſure in aſſuming the crown, as well as of his victory at Touton, by which he had ſecured it. The parliament no longer heſitated between the two families, or propoſed any of thoſe ambiguous deciſions, which could only ſerve to perpetuate and inflame the animoſities of party. They recogniſed the title of Edward, by hereditary deſcent, through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right from the death of his father, who had alſo the ſame lawful title; and that he was in poſſeſſion of the crown from the day that he aſſumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people.[e] They expreſſed their abhorrence of the uſurpation and intruſion of the houſe of Lancaſter, particularly that of the earl of Derby, otherwiſe called Henry IV; which, they ſaid, had been attended with every kind of diſorder, the murder of the ſovereign and the oppreſſion of the ſubject. They annulled every grant which had paſſed in thoſe reigns; they reinſtated the king in all the poſſeſſions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended depoſition of Richard II; and, though they confirmed judicial deeds and the decrees of inferior courts, they reverſed all attainders paſſed in any pretended parliament; particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Saliſbury and Gloceſter, and of lord Lumley, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II.[f]

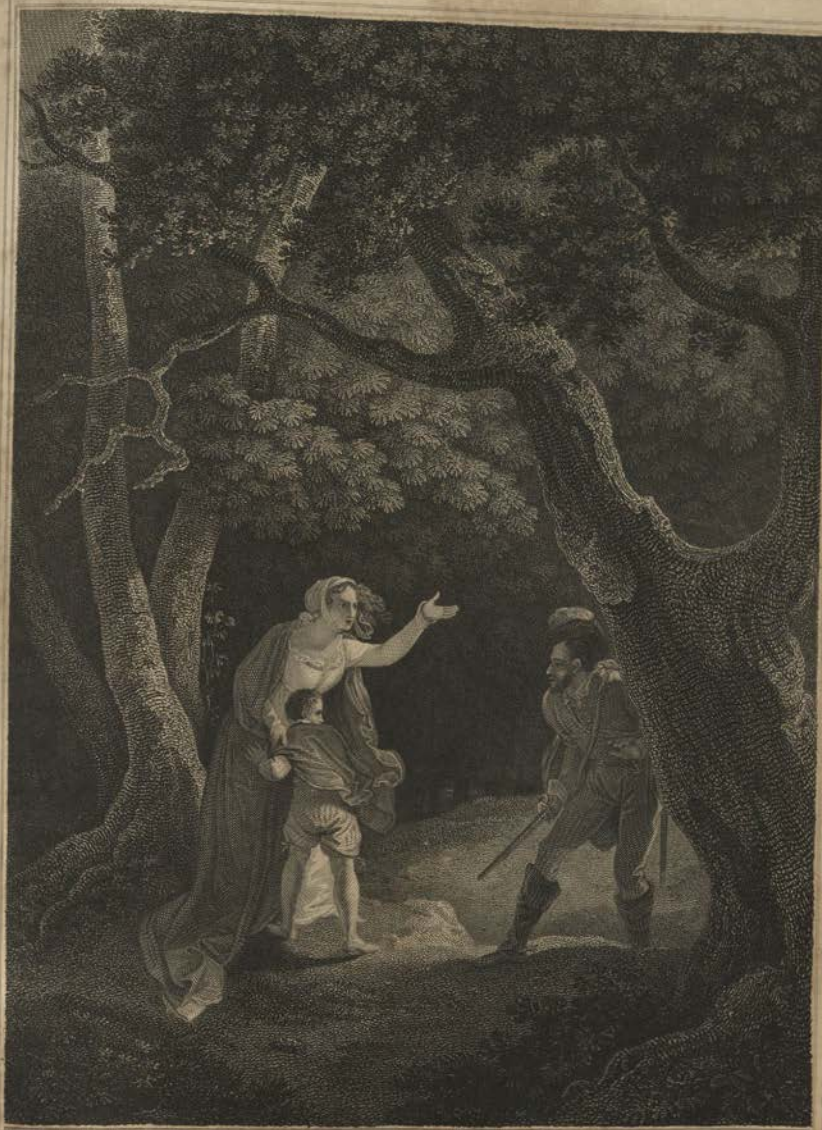
Many of theſe votes were the reſult of the uſual violence of party; the common ſenſe of mankind, in more peaceable times, repealed them; and the ſtatutes of the houſe of Lancaſter, being the deeds of an eſtabliſhed government, and enacted by princes long poſſeſſed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The parliament, however, in ſubverting ſuch deep foundations, had ſtill the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural baſis; but, in their ſubſequent meaſures, they were more guided by revenge, at leaſt by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and juſtice. They paſſed an act of forfeiture and attainder againſt Henry VI and queen Margaret, and their infant ſon prince Edward: the ſame act was extended to the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Devonſhire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the viſcount Beaumont; the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmond Mountfort, John Heron, and many other perſons of diſtinction.[g] The parliament veſted the eſtates of all theſe attainted perſons in the crown; though their ſole crime was the adhering to a prince whom every individual of the parliament had long recogniſed, and whom that very king himſelf, who was now ſeated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful ſovereign.

The neceſſity of ſupporting the government eſtabliſhed will more fully juſtify ſome other acts of violence, though the method of conducting them may ſtill appear exceptionable. John earl of Oxford, and his ſon Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correſpondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the conſtable, were condemned and executed.[h] Sir William Tyrrel, ſir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the ſame arbitrary court, were executed, and their eſtates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil go-

vernment was a high ſtrain of prerogative; which, were it not for the violence of the times, would probably have appeared exceptionable to a nation ſo jealous of their liberties as the Engliſh were now become.[i] It was impoſſible but ſuch a great and ſudden revolution muſt leave the roots of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction in the ſubject, which would require great art, or, in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them. The latter was more ſuitable to the genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

## BATTLE OF HEXHAM. 1464.

But the new eſtabliſhment ſtill ſeemed precarious and uncertain; not only from the domeſtic diſcontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had ſucceeded to his father Charles in 1460; and was led, from the obvious motives of national intereſt, to feed the flames of civil diſcord among ſuch dangerous neighbours, by giving ſupport to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itſelf; having attempted to ſubdue the independent ſpirit of his own vaſſals, he had excited ſuch an oppoſition at home as prevented him from making all the advantage which the opportunity afforded of the diſſenſions among the Engliſh. He ſent, however, a ſmall body to Henry's aſſiſtance under Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy;[k] who landed in Northumberland, and got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Alnwick. But, as the indefatigable Margaret went in perſon to France, where ſhe ſolicited larger ſupplies, and promiſed Lewis to deliver up Calais if her family ſhould by his means be reſtored to the throne of England, he was induced to ſend along with her a body of two thouſand men at arms, which enabled her to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from



Q. MARGARET ATTACKED BY THE ROBBER.

Scotland; and by many partiſans of the family of Lancaſter, ſhe received a check at Hedgley-more from lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the eaſt marches between Scotland and England. Montague was ſo encouraged with this ſucceſs, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancaſtrians at Hexham; and he obtained a complete victory over them. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the purſuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary juſtice was in like manner executed at Newcaſtle on ſir Humphrey Nevil and ſeveral other gentlemen. All thoſe who were ſpared in the field ſuffered on the ſcaffold; and the utter extermination of their adverſaries was now become the plain object of the York party; a conduct which received but too plauſible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancaſtrians.

## HENRY TAKEN AND CONFINED IN THE TOWER.

THE fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was ſingular. Margaret, flying with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf, was beſet, during the darkneſs of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, deſpoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. The partition of this rich booty raiſed a quarrel among them; and, while their attention was thus engaged, ſhe took the opportunity of making her eſcape, with her ſon, into the thickeſt of the foreſt, where ſhe wandered for ſome time, overſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ſunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition ſhe ſaw a robber approach with his naked ſword; and, finding that

ſhe had no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the reſolution of truſting entirely for protection to his faith and generoſity. She advanced towards him; and, preſenting to him the young prince, called out to him, 'Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of your king's ſon.' The man, whoſe humanity and generous ſpirit had been obſcured, not entirely loſt, by his vicious courſe of life, was ſtruck with the ſingularity of the event; was charmed with the confidence repoſed in him; and vowed, not only to abſtain from all injury againſt the princeſs, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice.[l] By his means ſhe dwelt ſome time concealed in the foreſt, and was at laſt conducted to the ſea coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape into Flanders. She paſſed thence into her father's court, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement. Her huſband was not ſo fortunate or ſo dexterous in finding the means of eſcape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at laſt detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the tower.[m] The ſafety of his perſon was owing leſs to the generoſity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his underſtanding.

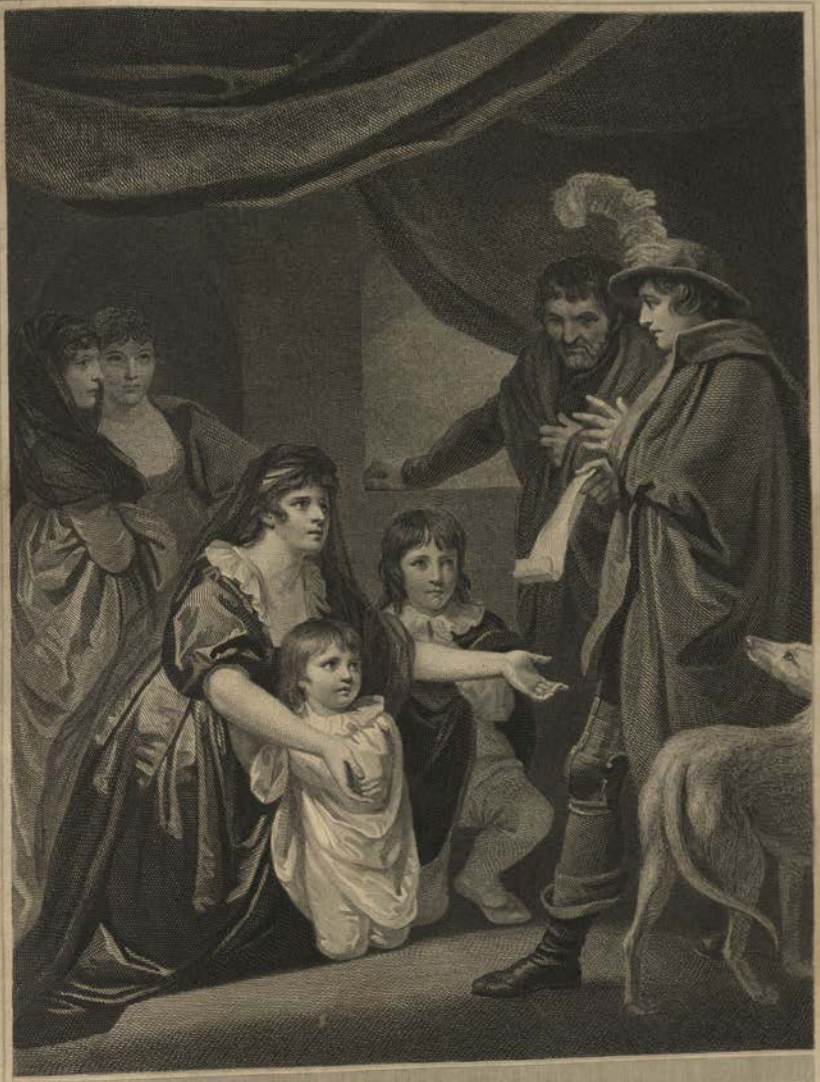
The impriſonment of Henry, the expulſion of Margaret, the execution and confiſcation of all the moſt eminent Lancaſtrians, ſeemed to give full ſecurity to Edward's government; whoſe title by blood, being now recogniſed by parliament, and univerſally ſubmitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached by any antagoniſt. In this proſperous ſituation the king delivered himſelf up, without control, to thoſe pleaſures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper, invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were leſs attended to than the diſſipation of amuſement or the allurements

of paſſion. The cruel and unrelenting ſpirit of Edward, though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, was at the ſame time extremely devoted to the ſofter paſſions, which, without mitigating his ſevere temper, maintained a great influence over him, and ſhared his attachment with the purſuits of ambition and the thirſt of military glory. During the preſent interval of peace he lived in the moſt familiar and ſociable manner with his ſubjects,[a] particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his perſon, as well as the gallantry of his addreſs, which, even unaſſiſted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This eaſy and pleaſurable courſe of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both ſexes. The diſpoſition of the Engliſh, little addicted to jealouſy, kept them from taking umbrage at theſe liberties: and his indulgence in amuſements, while it gratified his inclination, was thus become, without deſign, a means of ſupporting and ſecuring his government. But, as it is difficult to confine the ruling paſſion within ſtrict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a ſnare, which proved fatal to his repoſe, and to the ſtability of his throne.

## KING'S MARRIAGE WITH LADY ELIZABETH GRAY.

JAQUELINE of Luxembourg, ducheſs of Bedford, had, after her huſband's death, ſo far ſacrificed her ambition to love, that ſhe eſpouſed, in ſecond marriage, ſir Richard Woodeville, a private gentleman, to whom ſhe bore ſeveral children; and, among the reſt, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her perſon, as well as for other amiable accompliſhments. This young lady had married ſir John Gray of Groby, by whom

ſhe had children; and, her huſband being ſlain in the ſecond battle of St. Albans, fighting on the ſide of Lancaſter, and his eſtate being for that reaſon confiſcated, his widow retired to live with her father at his ſeat of Grafton in Northamptonſhire. The king came accidentally to the houſe after a hunting party; in order to pay a viſit to the ducheſs of Bedford; and, as the occaſion ſeemed favourable for obtaining ſome grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herſelf at his feet, and with many tears entreated him to take pity on her impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed children. The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction ſtrongly affected the amorous Edward; love ſtole inſenſibly into his heart under the guiſe of compaſſion; and her ſorrow, ſo becoming a virtuous matron, made his eſteem and regard quickly correſpond to his affection. He raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of favour; he found his paſſion increaſe every moment by the converſation of the amiable object; and he was ſoon reduced, in his turn, to the poſture and ſtyle of a ſupplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, either averſe to diſhonourable love from a ſenſe of duty, or perceiving that the impreſſion which ſhe had made was ſo deep as to give her hopes of obtaining the higheſt elevation, obſtinately refuſed to gratify his paſſion; and all the endearments, careſſes, and importunities, of the young and amiable Edward, proved fruitleſs againſt her rigid and inflexible virtue. His paſſion, irritated by oppoſition, and increaſed by his veneration for ſuch honourable ſentiments, carried him at laſt beyond all bounds of reaſon; and he offered to ſhare his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whoſe beauty of perſon and dignity of character ſeemed ſo well to entitle her to both. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton.° The ſecret was carefully kept for ſome time; no one ſuſpected that ſo libertine a prince could ſacrifice ſo much to a romantic paſſion; and there were in particular



LADY ELIZ. GRAY INTREATING EDW. IV. TO PROTECT HER CHILDREN.

ſtrong reaſons, which at that time rendered this ſtep to the higheſt degree dangerous and imprudent.

## WARWICK DISGUSTED.

THE king, deſirous to ſecure his throne as well by the proſpect of iſſue as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to ſome neighbouring princeſs; and he had caſt his eye on Bona of Savoy, ſiſter of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, enſure him the friendſhip of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give ſupport and aſſiſtance to his rival. To render the negociation more ſucceſsful, the earl of Warwick had been diſpatched to Paris, where the princeſs then reſided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his propoſals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princeſs to England.[p] But, when the ſecret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himſelf affronted, both by being employed in this fruitleſs negociation, and by being kept a ſtranger to the king's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendſhip, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of paſſion over ſo young a man as Edward might have ſerved as an excuſe for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakneſs as an apology: but his faulty ſhame or pride prevented him from ſo much as mentioning the matter to Warwick; and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court full of the ſame ill-humour and diſcontent which he brought to it.

Every incident now tended to widen the breach between the king and this powerful ſubject. The queen, who loſt not her

influence by marriage, was equally ſolicitous to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude thoſe of the earl, whom ſhe regarded as her mortal enemy. Her father was created earl of Rivers; he was made treaſurer in the room of lord Mountjoy;[q] he was inveſted in the office of conſtable for life, and his ſon received the ſurvivance of that high dignity.[r] The ſame young nobleman was married to the only daughter of lord Scales, enjoyed the great eſtate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catharine, the queen's ſiſter, was married to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown;[s] Mary, another of her ſiſters, eſpouſed William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon; Ann, a third ſiſter, was given in marriage to the ſon and heir of Gray lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent.[t] The daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, who was alſo the king's niece, was contracted to ſir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's ſons by her former huſband; and, as lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his ſon and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was deemed an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.

The earl of Warwick could not ſuffer with patience the leaſt diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he thought he had merited by ſuch important ſervices. Though he had received ſo many grants from the crown, that the revenue ariſing from them amounted, beſides his patrimonial eſtate, to eighty thouſand crowns a year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines,[u] his ambitious ſpirit was ſtill diſſatisfied, ſo long as he ſaw others ſurpaſs him in authority and influence with the king.[w] Edward alſo, jealous of that power which had ſupported him, and which he himſelf had contributed ſtill higher to exalt, was well pleaſed to raiſe up rivals in credit to the earl of Warwick; and he juſtified, by this political view, his ex-

treme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the ſudden growth of the Woodevilles,[x] were more inclined to take part with Warwick's diſcontent, to whoſe grandeur they were already accuſtomed, and who had reconciled them to his ſuperiority by his gracious and popular manners. And, as Edward obtained from parliament a general reſumption of all grants which he had made ſince his acceſſion, and which had extremely impoveriſhed the crown,[y] this act, though it paſſed with ſome exceptions, particularly one in favour of the earl of Warwick, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and diſguſted many, even zealous partiſans of the family of York.

But the moſt conſiderable aſſociate that Warwick acquired to his party was George duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother. This prince deemed himſelf no leſs injured than the other grandees by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and, as his fortunes were ſtill left on a precarious footing while theirs were fully eſtabliſhed, this neglect, joined to his unquiet and reſtleſs ſpirit, inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents.[z] The favourable opportunity of gaining him was eſpied by the earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his elder daughter, and co-heir of his immenſe fortunes; a ſettlement which, as it was ſuperior to any that the king himſelf could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl.[a] Thus an extenſive and dangerous combination was inſenſibly formed againſt Edward and his miniſtry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foreſee the extremities to which they might be carried: and, as oppoſition to government was uſually in thoſe ages proſecuted by force of arms, civil convulſions and diſorders were likely to be ſoon the reſult of theſe intrigues and confederacies.

## ALLIANCE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 1466.

WHILE this cloud was gathering at home Edward carried his views abroad, and endeavoured to ſecure himſelf againſt his factious nobility by entering into foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI, the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vaſſals; and, as it was ſupported by great abilities, and unreſtrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no ſecurity to themſelves but by a jealous combination againſt him. Philip duke of Burgundy was now dead: his rich and extenſive dominions were devolved to Charles his only ſon, whoſe martial diſpoſition acquired him the ſurname of 'Bold,' and whoſe ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but ſeconded by leſs power and policy, was regarded with a more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The oppoſition of intereſts, and ſtill more a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animoſity between theſe bad princes; and Edward was thus ſecure of the ſincere attachment of either of them, for whom he ſhould chooſe to declare himſelf. The duke of Burgundy, being deſcended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the houſe of Lancaſter:[b] but this conſideration was eaſily overbalanced by political motives; and Charles, perceiving the intereſts of that houſe to be extremely decayed in England, ſent over his natural brother, commonly called the Baſtard of Burgundy, to carry in his name propoſals of marriage to Margaret the king's ſiſter. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the Engliſh than that of France; the commercial intereſts of the two nations invited the princes to a cloſe union; their common jealouſy of Lewis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleaſed with ſtrengthening

himſelf by ſo potent a confederate, ſoon concluded the alliance, and beſtowed his ſiſter upon Charles.[c] A league, which Edward at the ſame time concluded with the duke of Brittany, ſeemed both to increaſe his ſecurity and to open to him the proſpect of rivaling his predeceſſors in thoſe foreign conqueſts, which, however ſhort-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns ſo popular and illuſtrious.[d]

## INSURRECTION. BATTLE OF BANBURY. 1469.

But, whatever ambitious ſchemes the king might have built on theſe alliances, they were ſoon fruſtrated by inteſtine commotions, which engroſſed all his attention. Theſe diſorders probably aroſe not immediately from the intrigues of the earl of Warwick, but from accident, aided by the turbulent ſpirit of the age, by the general humour of diſcontent which that popular nobleman had inſtilled into the nation, and perhaps by ſome remains of attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter. The hoſpital of St. Leonard's near York had received, from an ancient grant of king Athelſtan, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and, as theſe charitable eſtabliſhments are liable to abuſe, the country people complained that the revenue of the hoſpital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was ſecreted by the managers, and employed to their private purpoſes. After long repining at the contribution, they refuſed payment. Eccleſiaſtical and civil cenſures were iſſued againſt them; their goods were diſtrained, and their perſons thrown into jail; till, as their ill-humour daily increaſed, they roſe in arms, fell upon the officers of the hoſpital, whom they put to the ſword, and proceeded in a body, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in thoſe parts, oppoſed himſelf to their pro-

greſs; and, having been ſo fortunate in a ſkirmiſh as to ſeize Robert Hulderne their leader, he ordered him immediately to be led to execution, according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, ſtill continued in arms; and, being ſoon headed by men of greater diſtinction, ſir Henry Nevil ſon of lord Latimer, and ſir John Coniers, they advanced ſouthwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jaſper Tudor, was ordered by Edward to march againſt them at the head of a body of Welſhmen; and he was joined by five thouſand archers under the command of Stafford earl of Devonſhire, who had ſucceeded in that title to the family of Courtney, which had alſo been attainted. But, a trivial difference about quarters having begotten an animoſity between theſe two noblemen, the earl of Devonſhire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. The two armies approached each other near Banbury; and Pembroke, having prevailed in a ſkirmiſh, and having taken ſir Henry Nevil priſoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of proceſs. This execution enraged without terrifying the rebels: they attacked the Welſh army, routed them, put them to the ſword without mercy; and, having ſeized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the earl of Devonſhire, who had deſerted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like ſummary manner. But theſe ſpeedy executions, or rather open murders, did not ſtop there. The northern rebels, ſending a party to Grafton, ſeized the earl of Rivers and his ſon John; men who had become obnoxious by their near relation to the king, and his partiality towards them; and they were immediately executed by orders from ſir John Coniers.*

There is no part of Engliſh hiſtory ſince the conqueſt ſo obſcure, ſo uncertain, ſo little authentic, or conſiſtent, as that of the wars between the two roſes: hiſtorians differ about many material circumſtances; ſome events of the utmoſt conſequence, in which they almoſt all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records;[f] and it is remarkable that this profound darkneſs falls upon us juſt on the eve of the reſtoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can diſtinguiſh with certainty, through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a ſcene of horror and bloodſhed, ſavage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, diſhonourable, conduct in all parties. There is no poſſibility, for inſtance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwick at this time. It is agreed that he reſided, together with his ſon-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague acted with vigour againſt the northern rebels. We may thence preſume that the inſurrection had not proceeded from the ſecret counſels and inſtigation of Warwick; though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent preſumption againſt him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their ſervice to Edward, were received without any ſuſpicion, were intruſted by him in the higheſt commands,[g] and ſtill perſevered in their fidelity. Soon after we find the rebels quieted and diſperſed by a general pardon granted by Edward, from the advice of the earl of Warwick. But why ſo courageous a prince, if ſecure of Warwick's fidelity, ſhould have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of ſuch violent and perſonal outrages againſt him is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, ſhould have endeavoured to appeaſe a rebellion, of which he was able to make ſuch advan-

tages. But it appears that, after this inſurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honours and favours of the higheſt nature; he made lord Montague a marquis by the ſame name; he created his ſon George duke of Bedford;[h] he publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldeſt daughter Elizabeth, who, as he had yet no ſons, was preſumptive heir of the crown: yet we find that ſoon after, being invited to a feaſt by the archbiſhop of York, a younger brother of Warwick and Montague, he entertained a ſudden ſuſpicion that they intended to ſeize his perſon or to murder him, and he abruptly left the entertainment.[i]

Soon after there broke out another rebellion, which is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly becauſe no ſufficient reaſon is aſſigned for it, and becauſe, ſo far as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It aroſe in Lincolnſhire, and was headed by ſir Robert Welles, ſon to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to thirty thouſand men; but lord Welles himſelf, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a ſanctuary, in order to ſecure his perſon againſt the king's anger or ſuſpicions. He was allured from this retreat by a promiſe of ſafety; and was ſoon after, notwithſtanding this aſſurance, beheaded, along with ſir Thomas Dymoc, by orders from Edward.[k] The king fought a battle with the rebels, defeated them, took ſir Robert Welles and ſir Thomas Launde priſoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

## WARWICK AND CLARENCE BANISHED. 1470.

EDWARD, during theſe tranſactions, had entertained ſo little jealouſy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence, that he ſent

them with commiſſions of array to levy forces againſt the rebels:[l] but theſe malcontents, as ſoon as they left the court, raiſed troops in their own name, iſſued declarations againſt the government, and complained of grievances, oppreſſions, and bad miniſters. The unexpected defeat of Welles diſconcerted all their meaſures; and they retired northwards into Lancaſhire, where they expected to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's ſiſter: but, as that nobleman refuſed all concurrence with them, and as lord Montague alſo remained quiet in Yorkſhire, they were obliged to diſband their army, and to fly into Devonſhire, where they embarked, and made ſail towards Calais.[m]

The deputy governor, whom Warwick had left at Calais, was one Vaucler, a Gaſcon, who, ſeeing the earl return in this miſerable condition, refuſed him admittance; and would not ſo much as permit the ducheſs of Clarence to land, though a few days before ſhe had been delivered on ſhipboard of a ſon, and was at that time extremely diſordered by ſickneſs. With difficulty he would allow a few flagons of wine to be carried to the ſhip for the uſe of the ladies. But, as he was a man of ſagacity, and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was ſubject, he ſecretly apologiſed to Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and repreſented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his ſervice. He ſaid that the fortreſs was ill ſupplied with proviſions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garriſon; that the inhabitants, who lived by the Engliſh commerce, would certainly declare for the eſtabliſhed government; that the place was at preſent unable to reſiſt the power of England on the one hand, and that of the duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by ſeeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and ſtill keep it in his power, when it ſhould become ſafe and prudent, to reſtore Calais to its ancient

maſter.[n] It is uncertain whether Warwick was ſatisfied with this apology, or ſuſpected a double infidelity in Vaucler; but he feigned to be entirely convinced by him; and, having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made ſail towards France.

The king of France, uneaſy at the cloſe conjunction between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received with the greateſt demonſtrations of regard the unfortunate Warwick,[o] with whom he had formerly maintained a ſecret correſpondence, and whom he hoped ſtill to make his inſtrument in overturning the government of England, and re-eſtabliſhing the houſe of Lancaſter. No animoſity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that houſe and the earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret; he himſelf had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had baniſhed the queen, had put to death all their moſt zealous partiſans either in the field or on the ſcaffold, and had occaſioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reaſon, believing that ſuch inveterate rancour could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name when he took arms againſt Edward; and he rather endeavoured to prevail by means of his own adherents, than revive a party which he ſincerely hated. But his preſent diſtreſſes, and the entreaties of Lewis, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and, Margaret being ſent for from Angers, where ſhe then reſided, an agreement was from common intereſt ſoon concluded between them. It was ſtipulated that Warwick ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry, and endeavour to reſtore him to liberty, and to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne; that the adminiſtration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould be intruſted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daugh-

ter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue in that prince, ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of king Edward and his poſterity. Never was confederacy, on all ſides, leſs natural, or more evidently the work of neceſſity; but Warwick hoped that all former paſſions of the Lancaſtrians might be loſt in preſent political views, and that, at worſt, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would ſuffice to give him ſecurity, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foreſaw that it would be eaſy to diſſolve an alliance compoſed of ſuch diſcordant parts. For this purpoſe he ſent over a lady of great ſagacity and addreſs, who belonged to the train of the ducheſs of Clarence, and who, under colour of attending her miſtreſs, was empowered to negociate with the duke, and to renew the connexions of that prince with his own family.[p] She repreſented to Clarence that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the inſtrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had thrown himſelf entirely in the power of his moſt inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had ſuffered from the other were now paſt all forgiveneſs, and no imaginary union of intereſts could ever ſuffice to obliterate them; that, even if the leaders were willing to forget paſt offences, the animoſity of their adherents would prevent a ſincere coalition of parties, and would, in ſpite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preſerve an eternal oppoſition of meaſures between them; and that a prince who deſerted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himſelf ſingle, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be ſo much as entitled to any pity or regard from the reſt of mankind. Clarence was only one

and twenty years of age, and ſeems to have poſſeſſed but a ſlender capacity, yet could he eaſily ſee the force of theſe reaſons; and, upon the promiſe of forgiveneſs from his brother, he ſecretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to deſert the earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancaſtrian party.

During this negociation Warwick was ſecretly carrying on a correſpondence of the ſame nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely truſted by Edward; and like motives produced a like reſolution in that nobleman. The marquis alſo, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, reſolved, on his ſide, to watch a favourable opportunity for committing his perfidy, and ſtill to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the houſe of York.

After theſe mutual ſnares were thus carefully laid, the deciſion of the quarrel advanced apace. Lewis prepared a fleet to eſcort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a ſupply of men and money.[9] The duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, enraged at that nobleman for his ſeizure of the Flemiſh veſſels before Calais, and anxious to ſupport the reigning family in England, with whom his own intereſts were now connected, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the Channel; and he inceſſantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was expoſed. But Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foreſight or penetration. He was not ſenſible of his danger; he made no ſuitable preparations againſt the earl of Warwick; he even ſaid that the duke might ſpare himſelf the trouble of guarding the ſeas, and that he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwick ſet foot on Engliſh ground.[1] A vain confidence in his own proweſs, joined to the immoderate love of pleaſure, had made him incapable of all ſound reaſon and reflection.

## WARWICK AND CLARENCE RETURN.

THE event ſoon happened of which Edward ſeemed ſo deſirous. A ſtorm diſperſed the Flemiſh navy, and left the ſea open to Warwick.[t] That nobleman ſeized the opportunity, and, ſetting ſail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a ſmall body of troops; while the king was in the north, engaged in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection which had been raiſed by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick.

## EDWARD IV EXPELLED.

THE ſcene which enſues reſembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true hiſtory. The prodigious popularity of Warwick,[u] the zeal of the Lancaſtrian party, the ſpirit of diſcontent with which many were infected, and the general inſtability of the Engliſh nation, occaſioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that in a very few days his army amounted to ſixty thouſand men, and was continually increaſing. Edward haſtened ſouthwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a deciſive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progreſs had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had here the opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow. He communicated the deſign to his adherents, who promiſed him their concurrence. They took to arms in the night-time, and haſtened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king was alarmed at the noiſe, and, ſtarting from bed, heard the cry of war uſually employed by the Lancaſtrian party. Lord

Haſtings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his eſcape by ſpeedy flight from an army where he had ſo many concealed enemies, and where few ſeemed zealouſly attached to his ſervice. He had juſt time to get on horſeback, and to hurry with a ſmall retinue to Lynne in Norfolk, where he luckily found ſome ſhips ready, on board of which he inſtantly embarked.[w] And after this manner the earl of Warwick, in no longer ſpace than eleven days after his firſt landing, was left entire maſter of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Eaſterlings, or Hanſe-towns, were then at war both with France and England; and ſome ſhips of theſe people, hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, eſpied the king's veſſels, and gave chaſe to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his eſcape into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. He had fled from England with ſuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward, which he could beſtow on the captain of the veſſel that brought him over, was a robe lined with ſables; promiſing him an ample recompenſe if fortune ſhould ever become more propitious to him.[x]

It is not likely that Edward could be very fond of preſenting himſelf in this lamentable plight before the duke of Burgundy; and that, having ſo ſuddenly, after his mighty vaunts, loſt all footing in his own kingdom, he could be inſenſible to the ridicule which muſt attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke, on his part, was no leſs embarraſſed how he ſhould receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever born a greater affection to the houſe of Lancaſter than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foreſaw that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance againſt him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this rea-

ſon, when the firſt rumour of that event reached him, attended with the circumſtance of Edward's death, he ſeemed rather pleaſed with the cataſtrophe; and it was no agreeable diſappointment to find that he muſt either undergo the burden of ſupporting an exiled prince, or the diſhonour of abandoning ſo near a relation. He began already to ſay that his connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and it was indifferent to him whether the name of Edward, or that of Henry, were employed in the articles of treaty. Theſe ſentiments were continually ſtrengthened by the ſubſequent events. Vaucler, the deputy governor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a penſion from the duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no ſooner ſaw his old maſter Warwick reinſtated in authority than he declared for him, and with great demonſtrations of zeal and attachment put the whole garriſon in his livery. And the intelligence, which the duke received every day from England, ſeemed to promiſe an entire and full ſettlement in the family of Lancaſter.

## HENRY VI RESTORED.

IMMEDIATELY after Edward's flight had left the kingdom at Warwick's diſpoſal, that nobleman haſtened to London; and, taking Henry from his confinement in the tower, into which he himſelf had been the chief cauſe of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great ſolemnity. A parliament was ſummoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Weſtminſter; and, as this aſſembly could pretend to no liberty while ſurrounded by ſuch enraged and inſolent victors, governed by ſuch an impetuous ſpirit as Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here

fully executed; Henry was recogniſed as lawful king; but, his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intruſted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and, in default of that prince's iſſue, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the crown. The uſual buſineſs alſo of reverſals went on without oppoſition; every ſtatute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an uſurper; he and his adherents were attainted, and in particular Richard duke of Gloceſter, his younger brother; all the attainders of the Lancaſtrians, the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reverſed; and every one was reſtored who had loſt either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the cauſe of Henry.

The ruling party were more ſparing in their executions than was uſual after any revolutions during thoſe violent times. The only victim of diſtinction was John Tibetot, earl of Worceſter. This accompliſhed perſon, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themſelves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and ſchoolmaſters, for whom indeed the ſpurious erudition that prevailed was beſt fitted, had been ſtruck with the firſt rays of true ſcience, which began to penetrate from the ſouth, and had been zealous, by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpoliſhed countrymen. It is pretended that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman himſelf the effect which ſo naturally attends it, of humanizing the temper and ſoftening the heart;[y] and that he had enraged the Lancaſtrians againſt him by the ſeverities which he exerciſed upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He endeavoured to conceal himſelf after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the foreſt of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned, and executed. All the other conſiderable

Yorkiſts either fled beyond ſea, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries, where the eccleſiaſtical privileges afforded them protection. In London alone it is computed that no leſs than two thouſand perſons ſaved themſelves in this manner;[a] and, among the reſt, Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a ſon, called by his father's name.[a]

Queen Margaret, the other rival queen, had not yet appeared in England; but, on receiving intelligence of Warwick's ſucceſs, was preparing with prince Edward for her journey. All the baniſhed Lancaſtrians flocked to her; and, among the reſt, the duke of Somerſet, ſon of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the diſcomfiture of his friends; and, as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languiſhed in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us[b] that he himſelf ſaw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till, being diſcovered by Philip duke of Burgundy, they had ſmall penſions allotted them, and were living in ſilence and obſcurity, when the ſucceſs of their party called them from their retreat. But both Somerſet and Margaret were detained by contrary winds from reaching England,[c] till a new revolution in that kingdom, no leſs ſudden and ſurpriſing than the former, threw them into greater miſery than that from which they had juſt emerged.

Though the duke of Burgundy, by neglecting Edward, and paying court to the eſtabliſhed government, had endeavoured to conciliate the friendſhip of the Lancaſtrians, he found that he had not ſucceeded to his wiſh; and the connexions between the king of France and the earl of Warwick ſtill held him in great anxiety.[d] This nobleman, too haſtily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had ſent over to Calais a body of four thou-

ſand men, who made inroads into the Low Countries;[e] and the duke of Burgundy ſaw himſelf in danger of being overwhelmed by the united arms of England and of France; he reſolved, therefore, to grant ſome aſſiſtance to his brother-in-law, but in ſuch a covert manner as ſhould give the leaſt offence poſſible to the Engliſh government. He equipped four large veſſels, in the name of ſome private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand; and, cauſing fourteen ſhips to be ſecretly hired from the Eaſterlings, he delivered this ſmall ſquadron to Edward, who, receiving alſo a ſum of money from the duke, immediately ſet ſail for England. No ſooner was Charles informed of his departure than he iſſued a proclamation, inhibiting all his ſubjects from giving him countenance or aſſiſtance;[f] an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwick, but which might ſerve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were ſo diſpoſed, for maintaining friendſhip with the duke of Burgundy.

## EDWARD IV RETURNS. 1471.

EDWARD, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his loſt authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not two thouſand men, on the coaſt of Norfolk; but, being there repulſed, he ſailed northwards, and diſembarked at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Finding that the new magiſtrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the houſe of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. His partiſans every moment flocked to his ſtandard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was ſoon in ſuch a ſituation as gave him hopes of ſucceeding

in all his claims and pretenſions. The marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties; but, from ſome myſterious reaſons which, as well as many other important tranſactions in that age, no hiſtorian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an inſurrection which he ought to have eſteemed ſo formidable. Warwick aſſembled an army at Leiceſter, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, paſſed him unmoleſted, and preſented himſelf before the gates of London. Had he here been refuſed admittance, he was totally undone: but there were many reaſons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, iſſuing from their ſanctuaries, were active in his cauſe; many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money, ſaw no other chance for their payment but his reſtoration; the city dames, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who ſtill retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, ſwayed their huſbands and friends [g] in his favour; and, above all, the archbiſhop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had ſecretly, from unknown reaſons, entered into a correſpondence with him, and he facilitated Edward's admiſſion into London. The moſt likely cauſe which can be aſſigned for thoſe multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itſelf, is the ſpirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to ſhake off. The perſons, who had long diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the ſupport of the Lancaſtrians; and they were inclined, by any proſpect of favour or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connexions. However this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him maſter not only of that rich and powerful city, but alſo of the perſon of Henry, who, deſtined to be the perpetual

ſport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.[h]

## BATTLE OF BARNET, AND DEATH OF WARWICK.

It appears not that Warwick, during his ſhort adminiſtration, which had continued only ſix months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywiſe deſerved to loſe that general favour with which he had ſo lately overwhelmed Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defenſive, was now the aggreſſor; and, having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an inſurrection, poſſeſſed many advantages above his enemy: his partiſans were actuated by that zeal and courage which the notion of an attack inſpires; his opponents were intimidated for a like reaſon; every one, who had been diſappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warwick's elevation, either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman; and each malcontent, from whatever cauſe, proved an acceſſion to Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himſelf in a condition to face the earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his ſon-in-law the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took poſt at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancaſtrians, and have brought a great acceſſion to Warwick's forces: but this very conſideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a deciſive action than to ſhare the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who he foreſaw would, in caſe of ſucceſs, claim the chief merit in the enterpriſe.[i] But, while his jealouſy was all directed towards that ſide, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends who lay the neareſt to his boſom. His brother Montague, who had lately temporized,

ſeems now to have remained ſincerely attached to the intereſts of his family: but his ſon-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he ſhared the power of the regency, though he had been inveſted by Warwick in all the honours and patrimony of the houſe of York, reſolved to fulfil the ſecret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to ſupport the intereſts of his own family; he deſerted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of twelve thouſand men along with him.[k] Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and, as he rejected with diſdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obſtinacy on both ſides; the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed uncommon valour; and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cogniſance was a ſun, that of Warwick a ſtar with rays; and, the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them, the earl of Oxford, who fought on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, was by miſtake attacked by his friends, and chaſed off the field of battle.[l] Warwick, contrary to his more uſual practice, engaged that day on foot, reſolving to ſhew his army that he meant to ſhare every fortune with them, and he was ſlain in the thickeſt of the engagement;[m] his brother underwent the ſame fate; and, as Edward had iſſued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter was made in the purſuit.[n] There fell about fifteen hundred on the ſide of the victors.

## BATTLE OF TEUKESBURY.

THE ſame day on which this deciſive battle was fought ° queen Margaret and her ſon, now about eighteen years of age, and a

young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, ſupported by a ſmall body of French forces. When this princeſs received intelligence of her huſband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage, which had ſupported her under ſo many diſaſtrous events, here quite left her; and ſhe immediately foreſaw all the diſmal conſequences of this calamity. At firſt ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey [P] of Beaulieu; but, being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke and Courtney earl of Devonſhire, of the lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend to the utmoſt the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Gloceſter, increaſing her army on each day's march; but was at laſt overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Teukeſbury, on the banks of the Severne. The Lancaſtrians were here totally defeated; the earl of Devonſhire and lord Wenloc were killed in the field; the duke of Somerſet, and about twenty other perſons of diſtinction, having taken ſhelter in a church, were ſurrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded; about three thouſand of their ſide fell in battle; and the army was entirely diſperſed.

## MURDER OF PRINCE EDWARD, AND DEATH OF HENRY.

Queen Margaret and her ſon were taken priſoners, and brought to the king, who aſked the prince, after an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions. The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his preſent fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his juſt inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, lord

Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there diſpatched him with their daggers.[q] Margaret was thrown into the tower. King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Teukeſbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloceſter killed him with his own hands:[r] but the univerſal odium, which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any ſufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was ſudden; and, though he laboured under an ill ſtate of health, this circumſtance, joined to the general manners of this age, gave a natural ground of ſuſpicion; which was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the expoſing of his body to public view. That precaution ſerved only to recall many ſimilar inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, and to ſuggeſt the compariſon.

All the hopes of the houſe of Lancaſter ſeemed now to be utterly extinguiſhed. Every legitimate prince of the family was dead; almoſt every great leader of the party had periſhed in battle or on the ſcaffold; the earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, diſbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Teukeſbury, and he fled into Brittany with his nephew the young earl of Richmond.[s] The baſtard of Falconberg, who had levied ſome forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's abſence, was repulſed; his men deſerted him; he was taken priſoner,[t] and immediately executed; and, peace being now fully reſtored to the nation, a parliament was ſummoned, which ratified, as uſual, all the acts of the victor, and recogniſed his legal authority.

But this prince, who had been ſo firm, and active, and intrepid, during the courſe of adverſity, was ſtill unable to reſiſt the

allurements of a proſperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himſelf, as before, to pleaſure and amuſement, after he became entirely maſter of his kingdom, and had no longer any enemy who could give him anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffenſive courſe of life, and by his eaſy familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had loſt by the repeated cruelties exerciſed upon his enemies; and the example alſo of his jovial feſtivity ſerved to abate the former acrimony of faction among his ſubjects, and to reſtore the ſocial diſpoſition which had been ſo long interrupted between the oppoſite parties. All men ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied with the preſent government; and the memory of paſt calamities ſerved only to impreſs the people more ſtrongly with a ſenſe of their allegiance, and with the reſolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing ſuch direful ſcenes.

But, while the king was thus indulging himſelf in pleaſure, he was rouſed from his lethargy by a proſpect of foreign conqueſts, which it is probable his deſire of popularity, more than the ſpirit of ambition, had made him covet. Though he deemed himſelf little beholden to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile,[a] the political intereſts of their ſtates maintained ſtill a cloſe connexion between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invaſion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand men, and to invade the French territories; Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces; the king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at leaſt the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champaigne and ſome other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France; and neither party was to make peace[w] without the conſent of the other.

They were the more encouraged to hope for ſucceſs from this league, as the count of St. Pol, conſtable of France, who was maſter of St. Quintin and other towns on the Somme, had ſecretly promiſed to join them; and there were alſo hopes of engaging the duke of Brittany to enter into the confederacy.

The proſpect of a French war was always a ſure means of making the parliament open their purſes as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two ſhillings in the pound; which muſt have been very inaccurately levied, ſince it produced only thirty-one thouſand four hundred and ſixty pounds; and they added to this ſupply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another.[x] But, as the king deemed theſe ſums ſtill unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of 'benevolence;' a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III and Richard II, had not been much practiſed in former times, and which, though the conſent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary.[y] The clauſes annexed to the parliamentary grant ſhew ſufficiently the ſpirit of the nation in this reſpect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houſes; and, if the expedition into France ſhould not take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After theſe grants the parliament was diſſolved, which had ſitten near two years and a half, and had undergone ſeveral prorogations; a practice not very uſual at that time in England.

## INVASION OF FRANCE. 1475.

THE king paſſed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, who, prognoſticating future ſucceſſes

from the paſt, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour.[4] But all their ſanguine hopes were damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the conſtable open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy bring them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. That prince, tranſported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great diſtance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and againſt the duke of Lorrain: and, though he came in perſon to Edward, and endeavoured to apologize for this breach of treaty, there was no proſpect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the Engliſh. This circumſtance gave great diſguſt to the king, and inclined him to hearken to thoſe advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

## PEACE OF PECQUIGNI.

That monarch, more ſwayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no ſubmiſſions too mean which might free him from enemies who had proved ſo formidable to his predeceſſors, and who, united to ſo many other enemies, might ſtill ſhake the well-eſtabliſhed government of France. It appears, from Comines, that diſcipline was at this time very imperfect among the Engliſh; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet, being always decided by haſty battles, had ſtill left them ignorant of the improvements which the military art was beginning to receive upon the continent.[a] But, as Lewis was ſenſible that the warlike genius of the people would ſoon render them excellent ſoldiers, he was far from deſpiſing them for their preſent want of experience; and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward ſent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to

carry him a defiance in caſe of refuſal, ſo far from anſwering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a conſiderable preſent:[b] he took afterwards an opportunity of ſending a herald to the Engliſh camp; and, having given him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he deſired the good offices of theſe noblemen in promoting an accommodation with their maſter.[c] As Edward was now fallen into like diſpoſitions, a truce was ſoon concluded on terms more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. He ſtipulated to pay Edward immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, on condition that he ſhould withdraw his army from France, and promiſed to pay him fifty thouſand crowns a year during their joint lives: it was added that the dauphin, when of age, ſhould marry Edward's eldeſt daughter.[d] In order to ratify this treaty the two monarchs agreed to have a perſonal interview; and for that purpoſe ſuitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A cloſe rail was drawn acroſs a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to paſs; a precaution againſt a ſimilar accident to that which befell the duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Lewis came to the oppoſite ſides; conferred privately together; and, having confirmed their friendſhip, and interchanged many mutual civilities, they ſoon after parted.[e]

Lewis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendſhip, but alſo that of the nation, and of all the conſiderable perſons in the Engliſh court. He beſtowed penſions, to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns a year, on ſeveral of the king's favourites; on lord Haſtings two thouſand crowns; on lord Howard and others in proportion: and theſe great miniſters were not aſhamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince.[f] As the two armies, after the concluſion of the truce, remained ſome time in the

neighbourhood of each other, the Engliſh were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Lewis reſided, but had alſo their charges defrayed, and had wine and victuals furniſhed them in every inn, without any payments being demanded. They flocked thither in ſuch multitudes, that once above nine thouſand of them were in the town, and they might have made themſelves maſters of the king's perſon; but Lewis, concluding, from their jovial and diſſolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the leaſt ſign of fear or jealouſy. And, when Edward, informed of this diſorder, deſired him to ſhut the gates againſt him, he replied that he would never agree to exclude the Engliſh from the place where he reſided; but that Edward, if he pleaſed, might recall them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their returning.[g]

Lewis's deſire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances, which it coſt him afterwards ſome pains to evade. In the conference at Pecquigni he had ſaid to Edward that he wiſhed to have a viſit from him at Paris; that he would there endeavour to amuſe him with the ladies; and that, in caſe any offences were then committed, he would aſſign him the cardinal of Bourbon for confeſſor, who, from fellow-feeling, would not be over and above ſevere in the penances which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper impreſſion than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were ſo diſpoſed, it would not be impoſſible to perſuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Lewis pretended at firſt not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expreſſed his concern that his wars with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal gueſt, and do him the honours he intended. 'Edward,'

ſaid he privately to Comines, 'is a very handſome and a very amorous prince: ſome lady at Paris may like him as well as he ſhall do her, and may invite him to return in another manner. It is better that the ſea [h] be between us.'

This treaty did very little honour to either of theſe monarchs; it diſcovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his meaſures ſo ill with his allies as to be obliged, after ſuch an expenſive armament, to return without making any acquiſitions adequate to it; it ſhewed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to ſubject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the ſuperiority of a neighbouring prince, poſſeſſed of leſs power and territory than himſelf. But, as Lewis made intereſt the ſole teſt of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his ſide, and that he had overreached Edward by ſending him out of France on ſuch eaſy terms. For this reaſon he was very ſolicitous to conceal his triumph; and he ſtrictly enjoined his courtiers never to ſhew the Engliſh the leaſt ſign of mockery or deriſion. But he did not himſelf very carefully obſerve ſo prudent a rule: he could not forbear, one day, in the joy of his heart, throwing out ſome raillery on the eaſy ſimplicity of Edward and his council; when he perceived that he was overheard by a Gaſcon who had ſettled in England. He was immediately ſenſible of his indiſcretion; ſent a meſſage to the gentleman, and offered him ſuch advantages in his own country as engaged him to remain in France. 'It is but juſt,' ſaid he, 'that I pay [i] the penalty of my talkativeneſs.'

The moſt honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward was the ſtipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her huſband and ſon ſhe could no longer be formidable to government, was ſtill detained in cuſtody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and

that princeſs, who had been ſo active on the ſtage of the world, and who had experienced ſuch a variety of fortune, paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when ſhe died. An admirable princeſs; but more illuſtrious by her undaunted ſpirit in adverſity than by her moderation in proſperity. She ſeems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been ſubject to the weakneſſes, of her ſex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which ſhe lived.

Though Edward had ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reſerved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to ſupport himſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince poſſeſſed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but, being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no leſs eſſential, he was unfortunate in all his enterpriſes, and periſhed at laſt in battle againſt the Swiſs;[k] a people whom he deſpiſed, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 1477, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and was attended with conſequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his firſt wife; and this princeſs, being heir of his opulent and extenſive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Chriſtendom, who contended for the poſſeſſion of ſo rich a prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; which would at

once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly intereſted is as rare as one entirely endowed with the oppoſite quality; and Lewis, though impregnable to all the ſentiments of generoſity and friendſhip, was on this occaſion carried from the road of true policy by the paſſions of animoſity and revenge. He had imbibed ſo deep a hatred to the houſe of Burgundy, that he rather choſe to ſubdue the princeſs by arms than unite her to his family by marriage. He conquered the duchy of Burgundy, and that part of Picardy which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but he thereby forced the ſtates of the Netherlands to beſtow their ſovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic, from whom they looked for protection in their preſent diſtreſſes. And by theſe means France loſt the opportunity, which ſhe never could recall, of making that important acquiſition of power and territory.

During this intereſting criſis Edward was no leſs defective in policy, and was no leſs actuated by private paſſions, unworthy of a ſovereign and a ſtateſman. Jealouſy of his brother Clarence had cauſed him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heireſs of Burgundy;[l] and he ſent her propoſals of eſpouſing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who ſtill retained an entire aſcendant over him. But the match was rejected with diſdain;[m] and Edward, reſenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conqueſts over his defenceleſs ally. Any pretence ſufficed him for abandoning himſelf entirely to indolence and pleaſure, which were now become his ruling paſſions. The only object which divided his attention was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the neceſſities or negligence of his predeceſſors; and ſome of his expedients for that purpoſe, though unknown to us,

were deemed, during the time, oppreſſive to the people." The detail of private wrongs naturally eſcapes the notice of hiſtory; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general and deſerved cenſure.

## TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE. 1477.

THE duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was ſtill regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent openneſs and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much leſs dangerous, tended extremely to multiply his enemies, and to incenſe them againſt him. Among others, he had had the misfortune to give diſpleaſure to the queen herſelf, as well as to his brother the duke of Gloceſter, a prince of the deepeſt policy, of the moſt unrelenting ambition, and the leaſt ſcrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between theſe potent adverſaries being ſecretly formed againſt Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes that, if he patiently endured this injury, his puſillanimity would diſhonour him in the eyes of the public; if he made reſiſtance, and expreſſed reſentment, his paſſion would betray him into meaſures which might give them advantages againſt him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow in Warwickſhire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loſs, broke into a paſſion, and wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the king to commit that inſult upon him. This natural expreſſion of reſentment, which

would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other perſon, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendſhip in which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence. He was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found ſervile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn [o] for this pretended offence. About the ſame time one John Stacey an eccleſiaſtic, much connected with the duke as well as with Burdet, was expoſed to a like iniquitous and barbarous proſecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and aſtronomy than was uſual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his deſtruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greateſt peers countenanced the proſecution by their preſence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.[p]

The duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found theſe acts of tyranny exerciſed on all around him: he reflected on the fate of the good duke of Gloceſter in the laſt reign, who, after ſeeing the moſt infamous pretences employed for the deſtruction of his neareſt connexions, at laſt fell himſelf a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, inſtead of ſecuring his own life againſt the preſent danger by ſilence and reſerve, was open and loud in juſtifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming againſt the iniquity of their proſecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or uſing that pretence againſt him, committed him to the tower,[q] ſummoned a parliament, and tried him for his life on the ſixteenth of January 1478, before the houſe of peers, the ſupreme tribunal of the nation.

The duke was accuſed of arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing againſt the iniquity of the king,

who had given orders for their profecution.[r] Many rafh expreſſions were imputed to him, and ſome too reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accuſed of any overt act of treaſon; and even the truth of theſe ſpeeches may be doubted of, ſince the liberty of judgment was taken from the court by the king's appearing perſonally as his brother's accuſer,[s] and pleading the cauſe againſt him. But a ſentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumſtance had not place, was a neceſſary conſequence, in thoſe times, of any proſecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The houſe of commons were no leſs flaviſh and unjuſt; they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him.[t] The meaſures of the parliament, during that age, furniſh us with examples of a ſtrange contraſt of freedom and ſervility; they ſcruple to grant, and ſometimes refuſe, to the king the ſmalleſt ſupplies, the moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of government, even the moſt neceſſary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itſelf, expreſſed great fondneſs: but they never ſcruple to concur in the moſt flagrant act of injuſtice or tyranny which falls on any individual, however diſtinguiſhed by birth or merit. Theſe maxims, ſo ungenerous, ſo oppoſite to all principles of good government, ſo contrary to the practice of preſent parliaments, are very remarkable in all the tranſactions of the Engliſh hiſtory for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmeſey in the Tower: a whimſical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick; a ſon, created an earl by his

grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury. Both this prince and princeſs were alſo unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almoſt all the deſcendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report that a chief ſource of the violent proſecution of the duke of Clarence, whoſe name was George, was a current prophecy that the king's ſon ſhould be murdered by one, the initial letter of whoſe name was G.[a] It is not impoſſible but, in thoſe ignorant times, ſuch a ſilly reaſon might have ſome influence: but it is more probable that the whole ſtory is the invention of a ſubſequent period, and founded on the murder of theſe children by the duke of Gloceſter. Comines remarks that, at that time, the Engliſh never were without ſome ſuperſtitious prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1482.

All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely ſullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His ſpirit ſeems afterwards to have been ſunk in indolence and pleaſure, or his meaſures were fruſtrated by imprudence and the want of foreſight. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters ſettled by ſplendid marriages, though moſt of theſe princeſſes were yet in their infancy, and though the completion of his views, it was obvious, muſt depend on numberleſs accidents, which were impoſſible to be foreſeen or prevented. His eldeſt daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his ſecond, Cicely, to the eldeſt ſon of James III, king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip, only ſon of Maximilian and the ducheſs of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John, ſon and heir to Ferdinand

king of Arragon and Iſabella queen of Caſtile.[w] None of theſe projected marriages took place; and the king himſelf ſaw, in his life-time, the rupture of the firſt, that with the dauphin, for which he had always diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs. Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties or engagements, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithſtanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavoured to guard againſt the blow; and, by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, he incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whoſe force was very unequal to the enterpriſe, levied an army; but, when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conſpiring againſt his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army preſently diſbanded. The duke of Gloceſter, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been baniſhed his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace by which they reſigned that fortreſs to Edward. This ſucceſs emboldened the king to think more ſeriouſly of a French war; but, while he was making preparations for that enterpriſe, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he expired on the ninth of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. A prince more ſplendid and ſhewy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleaſure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and leſs fitted to prevent ills by wiſe precautions, than to remedy them after they took place by his vigour and enterpriſe. Beſides five daughters, this king left two ſons; Edward prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth.

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